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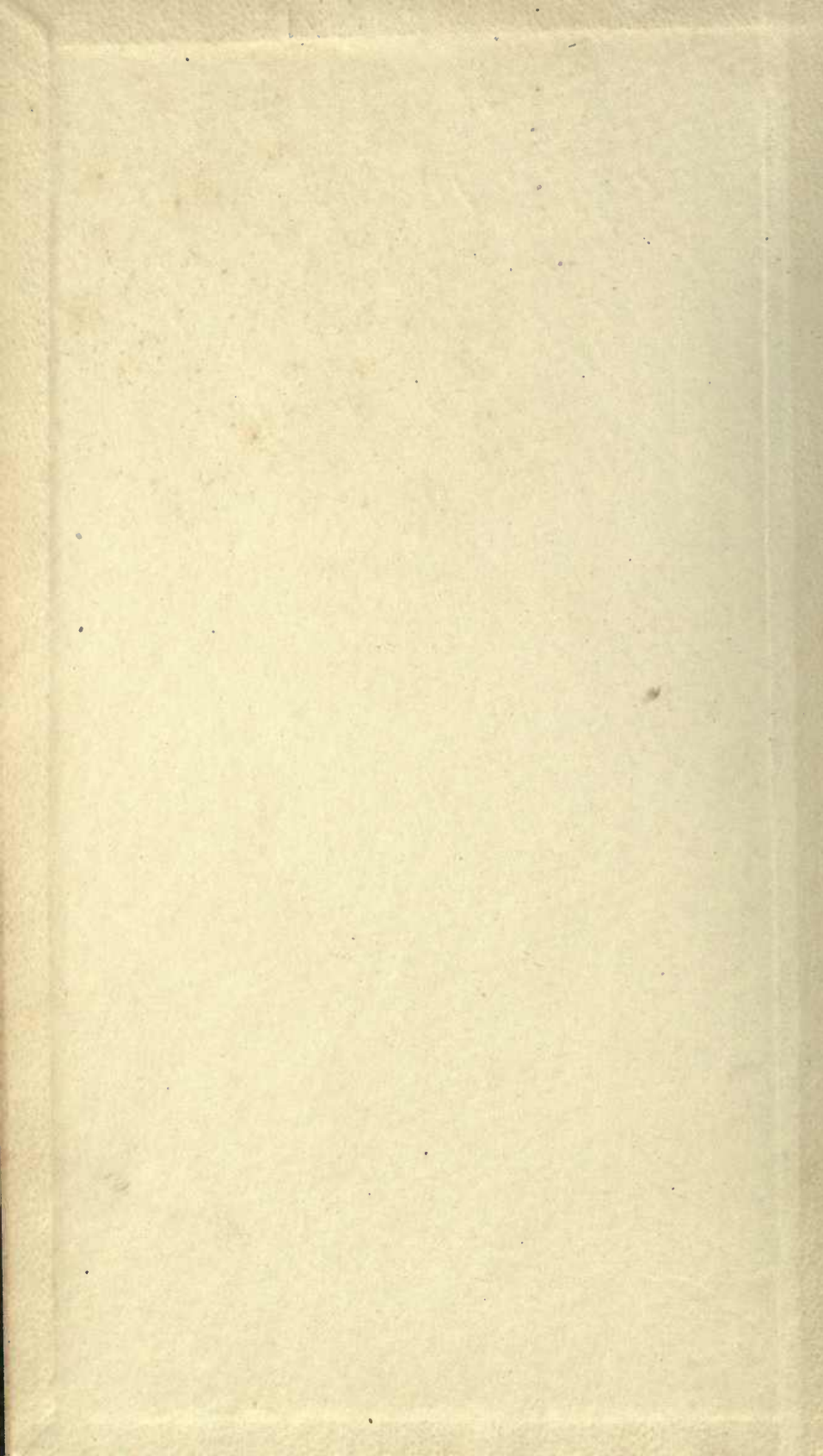


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THE HETERODOXIES OF THE SHIITES

ACCORDING TO IBN HAZM.

INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

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NEW HAVEN

1909.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The present treatise was originally published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society. It consists of two parts, the first (covering 80 pages) and the second (covering 183 pages) having appeared respectively in vol. xxviii. and in vol. xxix. of the above-named Journal. Of the first part, pp. 1-28 contain the Introduction, pp. 28-80 the translation of Ibn Ḥazm's texts, with the critical apparatus in the shape of footnotes. Of the second part, pp. 1-6 record the sources used in this treatise; pp. 6-136 contain a running commentary on the texts translated in Part I.; pp. 136-159 deal with the term *Rawāfiḍ*; p. 160 gives a genealogical list of the Alids mentioned in the treatise; pp. 161-183 are occupied by indexes.

Some remarks of a prefatory nature will be found in Part I. on pp. 23-28 and in Part II. on p. 1 f. and on p. 6.

A few corrections have been collected on p. 136 (Part II.). Others have been embodied in the Commentary. In the following, I enumerate the passages (all in Part II.) containing such corrections: 6 f., 10 n. 1, 13¹⁰, 47²⁶, 48¹⁵, 55¹⁶, 63¹⁰, 76³, 79¹¹, 86²³, 94²², 98¹³, 103²⁷, 127²⁴, 132²⁴, 136⁵, 150 n. 2, 160 n. 4.—I also wish to correct Part I. p. 13 l. 3 from below: *Samuel* for *Joseph* and Part II. p. 93 n. 1: *Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar*.—To Part II. p. 82 n. 2 compare al-Ḳirḳisānī (a Karaite writer of the first half of the tenth century), *ed.* Harkavy, Petersburg, 1894, p. 305: "they (the Rabbanites) admit that he (Jesus) performed miracles, and they maintain that this was possible for him by means of sorcery and the Hidden Name (of God)." Cf. Talmud Babli Sanhedrin fol. 103^b.—On the name *Nānā* (Part II. p. 10 n. 3) see also Harkavy in his Introduction to al-Ḳirḳisānī, *ibidem* p. 259 n. 3 and p. 320.—*Al-Warrāḳ* (Part II. p. 15 n. 3, cf. p. 136) is also quoted by al-Birūnī.

Lastly, I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Torrey and Professor Jewett for the patient and considerate manner in which they discharged their wearisome editorial duties in connection with this treatise.

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April 1909.

INTRODUCTION.

“BECAUSE of thee”—with these words Muhammed is reported to have addressed once his nephew and son-in-law Ali—“because of thee two parties will come to ruin: thy overzealous admirers and thy passionate haters.” In this short sentence, put into the mouth of the Prophet by a retrospective consideration of history, is clearly indicated the main source of the decomposition of Islam in the past and present. For endless woe has been inflicted upon the professors of Islam by Ali and his descendants, the Alids. In the first battle, in which, betraying the principle of “jihâd,” Muhammedans fought against Muhammedans, it was the name of Ali that served as the war-cry, and his name is still the watchword which splits the Muhammedan world into two hostile fractions. Streams of blood and, what is perhaps more important, streams of ink, representing the mental energy of the best and noblest in Islam, were shed to defend or to reject the claims of the Alids. But their claims are not yet settled, the minds by no means pacified, and the cry of revenge “Ḥasan ! Ḥusein !” sounds with undiminished violence through the lands of the Shī‘a, arousing hatred and enmity in the hearts of its believers.²

¹ Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, i, p. 15.

² On the Shiitic Muḥarram festival see Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, p. 449 sq. An extremely graphic description of an eye-witness may be found in Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Litteratur*, 1901, p. 209 sq.

But more, perhaps, than to the outward destinies of Islam has the influence of Ali and the Alids proved pernicious to its inner development. With no merit, nay, with no intention on their part, but merely as the result of a tragic constellation of historical events, did the ill-fated Alids become the figure-heads of certain movements within Islam which ultimately aimed at undermining its foundations and giving it an entirely new appearance. For Islam, represented by the Arabs, had subjugated not only countries and nations, but also religions and cultures. The non-Arabic races of the conquered countries who mostly for political reasons—to get the full measure of the benefits equally accorded by Islam to all its adherents—became converts to the new faith, could hardly find their spiritual satisfaction in a religion which was so entirely different from their own and in many respects decidedly inferior to it. Their disappointment in finding their religious demands unsatisfied must have been as keen as their disappointment in finding that their hopes for political equality were unfulfilled. No wonder then that under the guise of the new faith these converts persistently clung to their old beliefs and even endeavored to smuggle into Islam some of their most cherished ideas which were essentially un-Islamic and for the most part even anti-Islamic. The result of these endeavors was the formation of a large number of sects with a peculiar, often grotesque mixture of extremely heterogeneous elements. The Caliphs as the official heads of orthodox Islam were no less hateful to these non-Arabic sectarians than they were to them in their capacity as representatives of the Arabic political supremacy. Under these circumstances the “House of the Prophet”—as Ali and his descendants were commonly called—which itself had been wronged, or had been considered wronged, by the ruling powers, became the natural center of all dissatisfaction—economic, political, religious—that had been rapidly accumulating in Islam after its glorious inception. The heterodox sects which arose in the first century of the Hijra, in themselves a violent, though veiled, protest against victorious Islam, were thus driven towards Shiism, i. e. towards Ali and his dynasty as the representatives of the opposition; with the result, not less tragic than paradoxical, that the “House of the Prophet,” which derived its claim exclusively from its connection with the founder of Islam, was chiefly instrumental in destroying or disfiguring his life-work.

This remarkable process, which under the name of "Shiism" has powerfully influenced the destinies of Islam, is known to us but in the roughest outlines. The political tendencies in early Islam are becoming more and more transparent, owing to recent important investigations in this field. We are now able clearly to pursue the rise and development of political parties within Islam and the manifold tendencies that were working under the surface. As far as the *political* aspect of Shiism is concerned, it fully participates in the increase of our knowledge of Muhammedan history. But we have a very imperfect notion of the rise and development of the *religious* tendencies in Shiism and the sources from which they were derived.¹

¹ The origin of Shiism is still a problem which is as little settled, or perhaps less settled, than it was scores of years ago. Formerly the influence of Persian ideas on the rise of the Shi'a was advocated as a matter of course by men like Kremer, Dozy, August Müller, and recently (although in contradiction with his sound remarks in the introduction) by Blochet (*le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie Musulmane*, Paris 1903). This assumption is apparently based on two arguments: (1) on the adherence of modern Persia to Shiism, and (2) on the resemblance between the doctrine of incarnation taught by Shiism and a similar conception current in Central Asia (cf. Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, pp. 14, 361, 377). But the former argument is refuted by the fact that as late as 1500 A.D. Persia was in great part Sunnite (Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 101). As for the latter argument, one does not see why the doctrine of incarnation should not rather be attributed, as was already suggested by the great Ibn Khaldûn and even earlier Muhammedan writers, to the influence of Christianity. Wellhausen (*Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, p. 91) pointed to a certain heterodox doctrine of Judaism as the probable source of Shiism. But his view is based upon the report of Ṭabarî, which essentially contradicts that of Shahrastâni and similar writers (contrary to note 1 on p. 91) and deserves as little credit as the information of Ṭabarî about the political rôle of the founders of Shiism disproved by Wellhausen himself (in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, p. 124). Again, van Vloten, as already de Sacy, laid, among other things, great stress on the Messianic tendencies in early Islam as the main source of Shiism (see van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le Chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le Khalifat des Omayyades*, Amsterdam, 1894, p. 54 sq. and de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, i. xxxi sq.). But they both erred in putting too much confidence in the accounts of the Arabic writers on 'Abdallah ibn Sabâ, the enigmatic founder of Shiism,—accounts which can be easily proved to be apocryphal (see the index to this treatise, s.v. 'Abdallah ibn Sabâ).

Nearly three score and ten years have passed since Silvestre de Sacy, the originator of modern Arabic scholarship, attempted to give a systematic presentation of Shiism in the introductory chapters of his *Exposé de la religion des Druses* (two volumes, 1838). Almost a whole literature has since been rescued from oblivion and access has been given to historical sources then scarcely dreamt of. Yet a pragmatic history of Shiism which would reveal to us the inner workings and the organic development of this movement is still a desideratum, and will probably remain a desideratum for a long time to come. This peculiar condition is by no means due to a lack of zeal on the part of modern Arabists. It can and must be primarily attributed to a twofold circumstance: to the nature of the problem itself, and to the character of the historical material dealing with it.

One of the main obstacles that prevent a proper understanding of the Shiitic movement lies in the nature of the problem, i. e. in the extremely heterogeneous character of its constituent elements. Possibly the rise, but certainly the development of Shiism took place in 'Irāk, in the province of ancient Babylonia shortly before wrested from the Persians, in a country where, as perhaps in no other, different and even conflicting civilizations succeeded and penetrated one another. For thousands of years 'Irāk had been saturated with the overwhelming Babylonian culture which, though in other forms and through other channels, as, e. g., the movement of Mani or the peculiar sect of the Mandæans, exerted its influence centuries after it had disappeared from the surface. It passed through the hands of the Seleucids and was for nearly eight centuries the seat of the powerful civilization of Iran as represented by the Arsacids and Sassanids. It sheltered for a long period a large Christian population which took an active, if not a leading, part in the spiritual life of the country, serving as a medium not only for

The writer himself ventured to suggest (in his inaugural lecture on "Die Messiasidee im Islam," printed in *Festschrift zum siebenzigsten Geburtstage A. Berliner's*, Frankfurt a. M., 1903, pp. 116-130) as the germ of Shiism a combination of the Jewish belief in the advent of the Messiah with the Christian heterodox doctrine of Docetism, so widely spread in early Islam. This is not the place to enter into details. But the variety of suggestions undoubtedly proves the uncertainty still besetting this fundamental question of Shiism.

the doctrines of Christianity, but also for various phases of Greek thought. 'Irâk was for many centuries the numerical and spiritual center of the Jewish nation, and on its soil Talmudic Judaism grew up and matured as a leading force in Jewish life. All these so very heterogeneous influences came to bear upon young Islam, and the latter, unsettled as yet, was not able to resist this manifold pressure. Since the bearers of these cultures were the non-Arabic races, and the latter, deceived in their political expectations, joined the political opposition, these new influences also came to be associated with this opposition, i. e. Shiism, and the foreign elements in consequence found their first and foremost representatives in the sects of the Shiites. In order therefore to gain a clear conception of the elements of Shiism and of its subsequent development amidst foreign cultures, it will first be necessary to gain a clear conception of these foreign cultures themselves and of their condition at the time when they came in contact with Islam; a difficult and complicated task which practically lies beyond the province of Muhammedan historiography.

Another equally important drawback is to be found in the character of the historical material dealing with Shiism. The main source of our knowledge of Shiitic as well as Muhammedan sects in general are the numerous books on "Religions and Sects," mostly belonging to the third and fourth century of the Hijra, of which the book of Shahrastâni is the chief and best known specimen. We certainly owe a debt of gratitude and admiration to the authors of this "*Milal wa'n-Nihâl*" literature; doubly so when we remember that they were orthodox Muhammedans who firmly believed themselves to be the sole possessors of divine truth and consequently must have considered it a mere luxury to describe and refute doctrines branded beforehand as falsehoods and heresies. At the same time we must not forget that it is the very same belief which greatly detracts from the value of their historical endeavors. The certitude with which they regarded their opponents as a host of heretics who had forfeited their salvation and deserved physical and spiritual extermination, was by no means conducive to historical objectiveness. It was, on the contrary, likely to have the reverse effect in inducing them to ascribe to these heretics tenets which they never held, and to give to the tenets actually

held by them such interpretations as would disgust and deter the orthodox reader.

This difficulty is seriously aggravated by another circumstance which has had disastrous consequences for the whole field of Muhammedan history of religion. Owing to a linguistic misunderstanding of an old tradition,¹ probably also under the influence of astrological ideas,² the Prophet was credited with a saying according to which Islam will be divided into 73 sects, of which 72 will be doomed and only a single one will be saved. This ḥadīth received its final shape in a comparatively late age. For the well-known traveller Muḥaddasī (wrote about 373/985), who displays so vivid an interest in all matters theological, is still acquainted with another more tolerant, but to the Muḥammedans, so jealous of their Paradise, extremely painful form of the ḥadīth, according to which only a single sect will be doomed, while the remaining 72 will be saved.³ However this may be, the fact remains that the former less tolerant variant gained the victory and "this ḥadīth, which, with very slight variations, soon came to be generally known, formed the basis of the history of religions and sects in Muhammedan literature."⁴ Muhammedan writers on dogmatic history start from this ḥadīth as an indisputable fact and make convulsive endeavors to squeeze out the required number. As early a historian as Mas'ūdī (died 345/956) considers himself bound by this ḥadīth.⁵ 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Baġdādī (died 429/1038), the author of a comprehensive description of Muhammedan sects,⁶ presents in the introduction to his book an itemized, almost businesslike, account of the 73 sects. Shahrastānī (died 545/1153) bases upon this ḥadīth his account of Muhammedan as well as Jewish, Christian and Zoroastrian sects. The same

¹ Goldziher, "Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Schia," in *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, vol. 78 (1874), p. 445. The same writer in his article "le dénombrement des sectes Mohametales" in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, vol. 26 (1892), p. 129 sq.

² See Steinschneider, "Die kanonische Zahl der muhammedanischen Secten" in *ZDMG.* iv, p. 145 sq.

³ Muḥaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 39. Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, died 606^h, is still acquainted with this variant, Goldziher, *le dénombrement*, etc., p. 132.

⁵ *Murūj ad-Dahab*, v, 475.

⁴ Goldziher, *ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶ See later, p. 26 sq.

holds good in the case of other contemporaneous historians. Later writers go even further. The principle “ikhtilâf al-ummati rahmatun”—“the difference of opinion in the community (of Islam) is an act of (Divine) mercy”—which was laid down to serve as an extenuating circumstance for the existence of different legalistic sects in Islam, was, of course, not extended to the heterodox sects. Here, on the contrary, the differences and contradictions had to be regarded as a sign of warning, indicating the perilous nature of these sects. The more numerous and the more contradictory these differences appeared, the more likely was the faithful Muslim to be deterred from any connivance to their heresies. Later writers yield to this tendency and, in consequence, widely exceed the number of 72, claimed by the saying of the Prophet for the heterodox sects. To satisfy their religious conscience, these writers interpret this number as representing the *principal* non-orthodox sects and, thus freed from the restraint of tradition, enumerate such a motley multitude of sects and sections that the “ahl as-Sunna wa’l-jamâ’a” cannot help recognizing the enormous superiority of their own firmly established creed over the fluctuating falsehoods of their opponents. Makrîzî’s account of heterodox sects² may be taken as a typical specimen of this artificial enumeration of sects. “The Rawâfid (or Shiites), says Makrîzî (died 845/1442) who largely draws from old sources, number *three hundred* sects, of which twenty are well-known.”³ “The Khattâbiyya (a small faction of the Shi’a) are divided into *fifty* sects.”⁴ Many other examples of this kind can easily be quoted.

This tendency toward multiplying the number of heterodox sects is unhappily strengthened by a peculiar feature of the Arabic language, I mean the pliability of the *nisba* ending. For by far more readily than any modern language with its borrowed “isms” is the Arabic language able to handle its ending “*iyya*,” appending it with wonderful ease not only to all kinds of nouns, either designating things, or persons, countries and the like, but practically to every part of speech. This linguistic contrivance enables the theologians to manufac-

¹ Cf. Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 94 sq.

² *Khîṭaṭ*, ii, p. 344 sq.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

ture any number of sects required for special purposes. Their descriptions, in consequence, offer an artificial system of names which for the most part lack all historical significance, being nothing but variations of real names, and the identification of the sects thus becomes a matter of utmost difficulty.¹

Before we shall be able to get at the historical kernel and disentangle it from the chaos piled up around it by pious mendacity, the compulsion of a religious tradition and the deceptive use of a pliable language, a long series of preliminary investigations will have to be undertaken and concluded. As for Shiism in particular, the first thing to be done will be to make accessible all the available material bearing on this important section of Islam. This new material, together with that already known, should then be carefully sifted and their respective data critically weighed against each other. The results thus arrived at, presenting, as they would, the actual, not the imaginary, tenets of the Shiites, ought to be compared with and verified by what we know of the cultures that might be thought of as the possible sources of these tenets. Only then, when this preliminary work will have been done, shall we be able to attain to what is nothing perhaps in the eyes of Muhammedan theolo-

¹ A few examples will suffice to illustrate the assertions made in the text. They can be multiplied ad libitum. A part of the Keisâniyya believed in the "badâ" (see the index to this treatise s.h.v.). In consequence a special sect of Badâiyya figures in Ījī's *Mawâḳif* (p. 348). Some of the Shiites held the belief in the advent of the Mahdī (raj'a) or in the transmigration of souls (tanâsukh). Maḳrīzī therefore records two new sects: the Raj'iyya and Tanâsukhiyya (*Khīṭaṭ* ii, 354). The followers of Muhammed b. Nu'mân with the nickname Shaitân aṭ-Tâḳ are called the Nu'mâniyya or Shaitâniyya (see index s.h.v.). But it would not appear in any way strange, were this sect to be designated as the Muhammadiyya (after his first name), the Ja'fariyya (after his kunya Abû Ja'far), al-Aḥwâliyya (after his by-name, al-Aḥwal), or were this sect to derive its name from the Mahdis worshipped or the tenets professed by it. It will be seen in the course of this treatise, to what extent the recognition of the actual relations between Shiitic sects is hampered by this artificial variety of names. It may be mentioned in this connection that the same tendency with the same disastrous results prevails in Maḳrīzī's account on the sects of Judaism (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 476-480). —Dozy (*Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, p. 197) and Kremer (*Culturge-schichte* ii, 400) have already pointed to the pernicious effect of the ḥadīth in the number of sects.

gians, but is everything to us : a history of the *development* of Shiism in connection with the history of Muhammedan culture.

In this light, as a contribution towards the building material for a pragmatic history of the Shi'a, this treatise is herewith presented, centering, as it does, around an account on Shiitic sects by an Arabic writer who preceded Shahrastâni by a full century.

This account, however, considerably increases in value and interest when we think of the man from whose pen it came. For 'Alî b. Aḥmed *ibn Ḥazm* is one of those sharply marked individualities who are so exceedingly rare in *ijmâ'*-ridden Islam, despite its enormous store of mental energy. Ibn Ḥazm was not a pet of destiny. His greatness was neither recognized by his jealous contemporaries nor duly appreciated by a narrow-minded posterity. But should the mental products of Ibn Ḥazm be rescued from the oblivion to which fanatical zeal and unreasonable neglect had doomed them, he will be acknowledged not only as the unrivalled representative of literary Spain, but as one of the greatest men in the whole dominion of Islam.

'Alî b. Aḥmad b. Sa'îd b. Ḥazm b. Ġâlib b. Šâlih¹ Abû Muhammed was born in Cordova in the year 384/994, as the son of Aḥmad b. Sa'îd, who occupied a prominent official position under the famous Almansor and his successor. Ibn Ḥazm's early life thus coincided with the most stirring period in the history of Muhammedan Spain, when the mighty edifice of the Omeyyad caliphate began to totter and in a series of terrible shocks broke up into a number of petty states. Owing to the position occupied by his father, Ibn Ḥazm could not and would not stand aside, but took an immediate and prominent part in the political vicissitudes of his country. It was however a fortunate circumstance for him, and still more so for Arabic literature, that the constellation of events put an early end to his political career and, as it were, by force made of the brilliant statesman a brilliant scholar.

¹ This genealogy is recorded by al-Kiftî, see *Catalogus Codicum Arabicorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*², i (1888), p. 269. A short biography of Ibn Ḥazm is given by Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, No. 202, and by Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, i, 400. But some of their statements are erroneous, at least misleading, as can easily be seen from a comparison of their data with those given above. The sources for Ibn Ḥazm's biography are quoted by Brockelmann.

The ancestors of Ibn Ḥazm appear to have been Christians who lived in the district of Niebla. His great-grandfather Ḥazm is said to have been converted to the faith of Islam.¹ But this origin apparently possessed little attraction for a member of the Moorish aristocracy who was besides a passionate hater of Christianity. He was therefore anxious to improve his pedigree and followed the example of his father, who, being an Omeyyad official, shrewdly claimed as his progenitor a certain Persian who enjoyed the clientship of Yazīd, a brother of Mu'āwiya, the founder of the Omeyyad dynasty.² Whether this claim was the cause or the effect, Ibn Ḥazm at any rate always remained an ardent partisan of the Omeyyads, and in the terrible struggle that was raging around this dynasty gallantly fought and staunchly suffered in their behalf. In 1013, when the Berbers captured Cordova and gave full vent to their wild passions, Ibn Ḥazm's beautiful palace in Balāt Muḡith, the eastern suburb of Cordova,³ fell a prey to the flames.⁴ In 1016 Kheirān, the leader of the Slavs, having raised the Berber 'Alī b. Ḥammūd to the throne, sent Ibn Ḥazm to prison for his allegiance to the Omeyyad cause, and later banished him to Azna'l-Kazar, near Séville.⁵ Again in 1018, when the unscrupulous Kheirān, who had become tired of the independent Hammudite, proclaimed 'Abdarrahmān IV. al-Murtadhā calif in Valencia, Ibn Ḥazm hastened to join the Omeyyad prince, and bravely fought on his side against the Berbers. 'Abdarrahmān, betrayed by Kheirān, was defeated and slain and his partisan Ibn Ḥazm was captured by the victorious Berbers and kept in prison for some length of time. Once more was Ibn Ḥazm's star to rise, but only to disappear speedily and forever. By a desperate effort the Cordovans succeeded in ridding themselves of their Berber oppressors, and on December 1, 1023, 'Abdarrahmān V., al-Mustazhir, son of the murdered 'Abdarrahmān IV, was proclaimed by a plebiscit in the Mosque Caliph of Spain. Ibn Ḥazm was soon near his youthful sovereign, who was also his friend, and was at once raised by him to the dignity of vizier. But in less than seven weeks 'Abdarrahmān was

¹ Dozy, *Geschichte der Mauren in Spanien* (1874), ii, 210.

² *Ibidem*.

³ *Catalogue*, Leyden, i, 267.

⁴ Dozy, *ib.* p. 190.

⁵ *Catal.*; p. 268.

attacked and slain by the treacherous mob of Cordova and Ibn Ḥazm was once more taken prisoner.¹ When at last released, he was unable to find a resting-place for himself. The hatred of narrow-minded theologians pursued him wherever he went and the rulers of the various states were induced by his enemies to refuse him their hospitality. Finally he settled on his estate Mant Lishâm, near Labla, and there spent the rest of his life. Cured of his political ambitions, he devoted himself exclusively to literary activity, surrounded by a number of young students, who were courageous enough to seek the company of the unpopular and generally persecuted man.² He died in the solitude of his estate in the year 456/1064.

The leisure thus forced upon Ibn Ḥazm by adverse political circumstances was utilized by him to its utmost limits. Ibn Ḥazm became an author of that stupendous productivity which we find so characteristically represented in Arabic literature. The Arabic bibliographers who measure a man's greatness by the size and weight of his wastepaper basket faithfully report that Ibn Ḥazm's works amounted to "a camel's load," and we are reliably told on the authority of his son that their number reached the formidable sum of four hundred.³ To be sure, Arabic bibliography, as bibliography in general, is more concerned with the title-page of a literary work than with its contents, and is prone to confer the honorific title of a book where one would rather speak of a pamphlet or even a circular. Yet with all these limitations, Ibn Ḥazm's productivity lays claim to our unreserved admiration.

We must, however, be careful not to become prejudiced against Ibn Ḥazm's writings because of their quantity. We would do the man gross injustice, were we to put him on the same plane with some of the Arabic polygraphs, those living writing-machines whose activity is more a matter of perseverance than of ability. On the contrary, the trait that strikes one in Ibn Ḥazm first is his originality and its outward complement, brilliancy. It is this originality, coupled with truthfulness and fearlessness, which stamps Ibn Ḥazm as a really great man. His originality is perhaps best testified by the fact that, though he

¹ Dozy, *ib.* p. 205 sq.

² *Catalogue* Leyden (first edition), i, 230.

³ *Ibidem.*

himself was more orthodox than the orthodox, his writings were accorded the honor of a public auto-da-fé in his lifetime¹ and were pursued by prohibitions long after his death.² The light in which posterity judged this originality is strikingly illustrated by the protest of the famous mystic Ibn 'Arabî (died 634/1240), who emphatically denies to be one of those who constantly repeat: "Thus saith Ibn Hazm."³ As to the brilliancy of his style, it is charmingly displayed in the graceful description of his early love, which won for him the distinction, conferred upon him by the best judge of Moorish culture, himself a brilliant writer, of being the most thoughtful poet of Spain,⁴ and it manifests itself with equal power in the violent sarcasm of his polemics, which originated the later phrase designating the tongue of Ibn Ḥazm as a twin-brother of the bloody sword of the famous general Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.⁵

One of the chief products of Ibn Ḥazm's literary activity is the work to which this treatise is mainly devoted: his "*Kitāb al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*," the "Book on Religions and Sects."⁶ The originality of his mind shows itself in the very design of the book, which is the first attempt—termed "genius-like" by the foremost authority on the religion of Islam⁷—to extend the legalistic system of the Ṣāḥirite school over the whole field of Muhammedan dogmatics. As for the brilliancy of his style, it is perhaps nowhere shown to better advantage than in the chapters directed against Judaism and Christianity, which are an inimitable specimen of the Arabic art of "mujādala," and, despite the abusive and sometimes even vulgar language, are a delightful example of Arabic scientific prose.

This work moreover bears witness to other qualities of Ibn Ḥazm which mark him as the most eminent historian of religion in Arabic literature and attach to his information exceptional value and importance. One is struck at the outset with the

¹ *Ib.* 230, 234.

² Ḥāḥī Chalfa vi, 115.—Ibn Chaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, p. 4.

³ ZDMG. 52, 516.

⁴ Dozy, *Geschichte*, p. 211.

⁵ Ibn Khallikān, s.v.

⁶ On the variations in the title of the book see my article "Zur Komposition von Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal wa'n-Niḥal*" in *Orientalische Studien*, i, (1896), p. 267, n. 1.

⁷ Goldziher, *Ṣāḥiriten*, p. 136.

wide outlook of the author, which comprises within its compass not only the whole of the Muhammedan world, but extends a vast deal beyond it. It is not mere boasting on his part when he occasionally remarks:¹ "We have come in contact with, and received information from, people of distant countries, and have always been anxious to enquire into things that were unknown to us. We have had at our disposal numerous historical works containing the records of many nations, both Arabs and non-Arabs. We have also received information about the kingdoms of the Christians, as far as the country of Râm (Byzantium), also about the kingdoms of the Slavs,² Turks, Hindus and Negros, both of ancient and modern times." The work, written at the height of Moorish culture, displays that broad universalistic spirit by which nothing human is deemed foreign, and his arraignment of Judaism and Christianity reveals an intimate knowledge of other religions which is quite unique during the middle ages and very rare even in modern days. But though a scholar of vast erudition, Ibn Hazm was by no means a book-worm. Ibn Hazm learned from men as much as, or even more than, he learned from books. A vizier, the son of a vizier, he was in early life involved in the vicissitudes of a stirring revolutionary period. He saw a good deal of the world and came in contact with all sorts and conditions of men, turning this living experience into excellent account in his literary work. This breath of life is the most refreshing and at the same time the most valuable feature of Ibn Hazm's standard work. He enjoyed the personal acquaintance not only of representatives of various shades of Muhammedan thought and dogma, but also of the foremost champions of the two other religions of Spain, of Judaism and Christianity. When still in Cordova at the age of twenty, he discussed Biblical passages with the famous Jewish statesman and scholar Joseph ibn Nagdela,³ and the Bishop⁴ as well as the Dayyân⁵ of Cordova were counted among his friends. References to Christian and more so to Jewish contemporaries are very fre-

¹ *Milal wa'n-Nihâl*, ed. Cairo, i, 175.

² The Vienna manuscript adds "Khazars."

³ *M. wa'n-N.*, i, 152 and 135.

⁴ *Ib.* ii, 108.

⁵ *M. wa'n-N.*, codex Vienna, fol. 100^b.

quent in his book,¹ and, while adding considerable weight to his information, they also bear splendid evidence as to Ibn Ḥazm's many-sidedness and thirst for knowledge.

Another striking trait of Ibn Ḥazm's personality as displayed in this book is his critical acumen and his keen power of observation. Ibn Ḥazm keeps an open eye on the world around him and perceives things, and details of things, which would escape a less keen observer. His statements are never blurred, but always definite and admirably accurate. Though a thinker of no mean order, he never seeks refuge in ambiguous abstractions but always carries the analysis of things down to their minute details. Many an interesting specimen of this thoroughness can be found in the *Milal wa'n-Nihal*. Discussing the passage Matthew xiii, 31-32, he polemically remarks that the author must have been completely ignorant of agriculture. "We saw the mustard plant ourselves, we also knew others who had seen it in distant countries. Yet we never saw nor were we told by those who had seen anything of the plant that a bird could dwell on it."² Referring to a wide-spread Jewish legend³ which told of a Jewish sage of Bagdad who miraculously came over to Cordova⁴ to punish a certain Ibn al-Iskenderānī for having oppressed the Jews of the latter city, he at once plunges into a description of the man and his family and the place where they lived, so as to prove the absurdity of the legend and the mendacity of the Jews. His lucid and scholarly expositions on chronological, geographical and similar complicated questions of Biblical criticism bear witness to the same effect.⁵

But the characteristic which constitutes the real greatness of Ibn Ḥazm and is of paramount importance for the subject dealt with in this treatise is his truthfulness. "With reference to the dogmas (of the Shiites), Abū Muhammed Ibn Ḥazm's *Kitāb al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*—a work, I am sorry to say, not yet sufficiently studied, but in every respect worthy of further propagation and

¹ Cmp. Goldziher in *Kobak's Yeshurun* viii (1872), p. 76 sq. and Hirshfeld in *Jewish Quarterly Review* xiii (1901), p. 222 sq.

² *M. wa'n-N.*, ii, 34.

³ *Ib.* i, 156.

⁴ The Edition (i. 156, l. 2) has قريظة which may only be a misprint. The manuscripts of Leyden and Vienna have the correct reading.

⁵ Cmp. his lengthy discussion of the number of the Jewish military recruits, i, 165 sq., or his geographical explanations, i, 166.

scrutiny—certainly is an excellent source. He, too, is polemical in the course of the whole work, and not without passion. Nevertheless he is of sufficient historical fidelity.¹ Ibn Ḥazm's truthfulness is of the right sort, being as anxious to say the truth as to avoid an untruth. He is always ready to call a spade a spade and to shower upon his opponents the inexhaustible stream of Arabic invectives. His attacks, e. g., on al-Ash'arī, the patron-saint of orthodox Islam, whom he stigmatizes as an infidel, are of an incredibly violent nature, and they were probably the cause of the persecutions to which his writings were subjected. But at the same time Ibn Ḥazm is ready to do justice to people with different and even opposite opinions. In his attacks on Jews and Christians he is always anxious not to misjudge things, and he often quotes and carefully considers their counter-arguments. "We have already mentioned," remarks Ibn Ḥazm in the course of his polemics, "that we shall not use against them any quotation from their Torah which is not clear in its meaning, since the opponent might reply by saying that the Lord meant by it anything he likes."² In the same spirit he solemnly pledges himself, in the introduction to his treatise on the "depravities" of the extreme heterodox sects, a subject which invites misrepresentations, that he will never charge an opponent with a heterodox view unless he can justify it by a verbal quotation from the opponent's own writings, "be he an unbeliever, a heretic or a mere sinner, since lying is not permissible against anybody."³ This attitude raises Ibn Ḥazm far above the level of other Muhammedan writers on similar subjects and renders his statements singularly trustworthy.

Last, but certainly not least, Ibn Ḥazm's report on the sects of Islam is of exceptional value because of its being, as far as we know, the only one which is not fettered by the tradition on the 73 sects. In consequence of his rigid conception of Muhammedan tradition,⁴ Ibn Ḥazm completely ignores this ḥadīth, which is neither recorded by Bukhārī nor by Muslim, and no mention of it is made throughout the bulky work. The effect is at once evident in a more logical division of Muhammedan sects

¹ Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Schi'a*, p. 443.

² *Milal*, i, 165.

³ *Milal*, iv, 178.

⁴ Comp. Kremer, *herrschende Ideen*, p. 138 sq.

(see later) and in a considerably reduced number of sect names. We may safely assume that each name recorded in the *Milal wa'n-Nihal* represents a historical fact and not, as in the case of all other writers, a mere product of imagination.

Having allotted so much space to the merits of Ibn Ḥazm's work, we would appear not quite unbiassed were we to suppress all mention of its shortcomings. As early as in the fourteenth century a well-known Muhammedan theologian emphasized the superiority of Shahrastānī's book over that of Ibn Ḥazm on the ground that the latter was "scattered and without proper disposition."¹ Though the reproach expressed in these words loses much of its force when the history of the book is more closely considered, yet it must be admitted that this criticism strikingly characterizes the book of Ibn Ḥazm in distinction from that of Shahrastānī. Ibn Ḥazm with his agile mind and fiery temperament certainly did not possess the academic fishblood of the scholar and systematizer Shahrastānī. Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihal*, particularly the sections dealt with in the present treatise, indisputably lack the systematic roundness and scientific classification, so conspicuous in the rival work. More especially the account on the Shiites is quite unmethodical and often very abrupt. But all these shortcomings fade into insignificance before the great characteristics of Ibn Ḥazm's personality: his breadth of outlook, his power of observation and, above all, his fairness of judgment.

The *Kitāb al-Milal wa'n-Nihal* is not a work of a uniform and harmonious construction. Its composite nature can be easily traced and demonstrated. On another occasion² I endeavored to disclose the original plan of the book and the way it was carried out. Here it will suffice to state the results arrived at. Originally the *Milal wa'n-Nihal* was conceived as a mainly dogmatic composition. The description of the religions and sects proper occupied but a fourth of the work, while the rest scrutinized the Muhammedan dogmas from the point of view of Zahirite doctrine. Subsequently, however, the author tried to do more justice to the title of the book by incorporating with it two large

¹ as-Subkī, quoted by Hājī-Chalfa, vi, 116.

² In *Orientalische Studien*, 1906, published on the seventieth birthday of Prof. Nöldeke, pp. 267-277.

monographs written previously, one consisting of a polemical treatise directed against Judaism and Christianity, the other being an account of the tenets of the extreme heterodox sects of Islam.

Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihāl* is preserved in five manuscripts which may here be enumerated in chronological order: 1) A manuscript of the University Library of Leyden (henceforward designated as L) in two volumes, the first dated 722^h, the second 734^h.¹ 2) A codex in the British Museum (=Br) consisting of two volumes both written in 734^h.² 3) An incomplete manuscript of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna (=V) dated 1091^h.³ 4) A manuscript in Cairo of the year 1271^h (see later). 5) A manuscript in three volumes in the library of Yale University (=Y) written in 1298^h.⁴ The Cairo manuscript was recently reproduced in a printed edition (henceforward designated as Ed) which appeared in Cairo in five parts in 1317-1321^h. A glance at the various manuscripts reveals the existence of systematic divergencies between them which can only be explained as representing various stages in the composition of the book. Flügel,⁵ who only saw the Vienna manuscript, already observed that the words "Says Abū Muhammed," by which almost every paragraph of the book is introduced, point to the fact that the book was, from dictation or otherwise, written down and edited by a strange hand. This observation seems to gain support from the discrepancies in the dates mentioned in various sections of the book. Thus at the beginning of his work Ibn Ḥazm speaks of the reign of Hishām al-Mu'tadd (418-422^h)⁶ as being contemporaneous. On the other hand, at the end of his polemics against Judaism and Christianity he refers to the year 450^h and in a passage shortly before to 450 and odd years. Again in a later section of the book the year 440 is to be inferred as the date of composition.⁷ A more minute scrutiny discloses the fact

¹ *Catalogue* Leyden (1866), iv, 230 sq.

² Rieu, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*, London 1871, ii, p. 726.

³ Flügel, *Catalogue* Vienna (1865), ii, No. 975.

⁴ See later, p. 24.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 198 Anm. 1.

⁶ *Milal*, i, p. 16. The Edition has **المعتد**. See Lane-Poole, *Muhammedan Dynasties* (1894), p. 21; and Maḡḡari i, 191, note c, and 282, note c.

⁷ *Milal*, iv, 94, l. 2.

that the five manuscripts go back to two distinctly marked recensions. The exact relationship between these two recensions can, of course, be determined only by means of a careful collation which would include all manuscripts and extend over the whole book, a task which, in consideration of the size of the *Milal wa'n-Nihal*, would demand an enormous amount of time and patience. Personally I have been able to collate all manuscripts extant (with the exception of the Cairo manuscript, which is reproduced in the printed edition) only for the portions translated in this treatise. I have also consulted the manuscripts of Leyden and Vienna for many a passage in the earlier part of the work, especially in the chapters bearing on Judaism and Christianity, occasionally also in the latter sections. These collations form the basis of the following observations, which, because of the fragmentary character of the former, do not in any way pretend to be exhaustive or definitive. The relationship between the various codes seems to differ in the different sections of the book. In the earlier part, the two oldest contemporaneous codices, L. and Br., belong to different categories, the latter forming one group with V., the former siding with Y. and Ed. The affinity between Br. and V. is here of so close a nature that it can be explained only by assigning a common original to both, or by regarding the one as the copy of the other. L. and Y. as well as Ed. go, as a rule, together. But they also show slight variations and in some important instances correspond with Br. and V. The latter part of the work presents quite a different aspect. Eliminating V., which is defective, we can see at a glance that L. and Br. on one hand and Y. and Ed. on the other present two sharply marked types. The resemblance between the manuscripts of each group is so striking that no doubt is left as to the identity of their respective originals.

The observations just offered necessarily remain fragmentary and uncertain, owing to the incompleteness of the evidence upon which they are based. A closer investigation will no doubt bring out more clearly the evidently complicated relations between the various manuscripts. One fact, however, must be noticed right here. In the chapter bearing on Shiism, which originally formed a part of a monograph on heterodox sects,

¹ *Zur Komposition*, etc., p. 272 sq.

the differences between the two recensions are not mere variants, but frequently affect the contents to a considerable extent. The group consisting of L.-Br. offers many an additional reading which is of historical importance. Some variants directly contradict one another. It is therefore important to establish the relative age of the recensions. Happily there is one passage in the book which gives us an important hint in this direction. Speaking of the Mahdî of the Shiites, who was born about 260^h,¹ he slightly remarks: "And they (the Shiites) are still waiting for a lost object since 180 years."² L.-Br. read "180 and *odd* years." This group would thus appear to be later by a few years than the recension represented by Y. and Ed. It must however be admitted that in face of the divergencies in the dates in the various parts of the book, this evidence cannot be regarded as conclusive, and may perhaps be valid only for the latter part of the book, from which the passage under consideration is derived.

The texts published in translation in this treatise consist of four pieces derived from various sections of the *Milal wa'n-Nihal*. The first piece is composed of Ibn Ḥazm's general account of the sects of Islam and serves as an introduction to his elaborate examination of the Muhammedan dogmas to which the book is in main devoted. This account is very brief, quite in accordance with its introductory character. It does not limit itself to the Shiites, but presents a brief survey of all Muhammedan sects. Since the description of Shiism is interwoven with that of other sects, the piece had to be given *in extenso*; a limitation to Shiism would have resulted in a motley number of fragmentary passages. The second piece in this treatise is represented by the chapter on Shiism taken from the originally independent monograph on the extreme heterodox sects, which is now incorporated with the *Milal wa'n-Nihal*. The third piece gives an extract from the chapter on the Imâmate, as far as it has an immediate bearing on the tenets of Shiism. The fourth, and last, piece gives a brief synopsis of Shiism which is

¹ Or rather who was supposed to have been born. Ibn Ḥazm denies his existence altogether; see later, pp. 48 and 76. I take the date of his father's death. The officially recognized date of the Mahdî's birth is 255^h.

² *Milal*, iv, 94, l. 2.

extant only in the manuscripts of Leyden and the British Museum, and is therefore presented both in text and translation.

The reader will see at a glance that the second piece containing the chapter on Shiism is both in size and contents the most important of the texts published below. It is, in fact, the backbone of this treatise. To be sure, the chapter in question, as has already been hinted at, is very far from being an exhaustive or even comprehensive presentation of Shiism. As far as this chapter is concerned, its incompleteness may be explained by the fact that the monograph, of which it originally formed a part, limited itself by the very title to the "depravities," i. e. the extreme sects of the Shi'a. But it must also be admitted that even the description of the extreme sects is fragmentary and abrupt, and that the same abruptness is to be noticed in the other texts. Yet, in spite of this defect, Ibn Ḥazm's account is of great historical value. It contains a number of facts which have hitherto not been known at all, or been known only in part or in different form. It also reveals a clear and original conception of the nature of Shiism and of the development of its sects. Apart from the general merits characterizing the literary activity of Ibn Ḥazm, we may conscientiously assert that the information contained in the texts given below contributes a considerable and valuable material towards the history of this important religious movement.

The disconnected and abrupt character of the texts makes a synopsis of their contents almost impossible. On the other hand, this very same circumstance renders a synopsis unnecessary. I will therefore limit myself to a few remarks on Ibn Ḥazm's division of the sects of the Shi'a, which underlies his whole account. The division of the sects of Islam in general is, mainly because of the baneful ḥadīth, a matter of extreme difficulty and discussion. Shahrastānī, in the introduction to his *Milal wa'n-Niḥal*, justly remarks that he has not found two writers who agreed on this question, and an examination of other Muhammedan histories of religion only confirms this observation. A similar confusion prevails in the division of Shiitic sects in particular. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the infirmity and arbitrariness of all such divisions. 'Abd-al-Kāhir al-Baġdādī (d. 429/1038), a contemporary of Ibn Ḥazm,¹ who

¹ See later, p. 26.

bestows great pains on a precise classification of the 72 heterodox sects, counts twenty of these to the Shi'a. He distributes these twenty over three main sects: the Zeidiyya (4), the Keisâniyya (1), and the Imâmiyya (15). The Ġulât ("Extremists") are not reckoned to Islam at all. Shahrastânî (d. 548/1153), on the contrary, counts the Ġulât (or Ġâliya) to the Muhammedan sects, and enumerates five Shiitic sects: the Keisâniyya, Zeidiyya, Imâmiyya, Ġâliya, and Ismâ'iliyya. Makrîzî, again, (d. 845/1442) who knows Ibn Ĥazm's work and frequently plagiarizes it, follows in the division of sects a system of his own which is highly artificial. All the sects of Islam deviating from the Sunna are considered and called by him Ġulât, "Extremists," i. e. driving to an extreme the moderate principles of orthodox Islam. These Ġulât, and with them all heterodox sects, are divided into ten principal categories. The ninth is occupied by the Shiites or, as Makrîzî prefers to call them, the Rawâfiḍ.¹ Twenty sects are numbered under this heading, among them the Imâmiyya, Keisâniyya and Zeidiyya, but also many small and insignificant factions. At the end of his classification, Makrîzî, stimulated by the tendency outlined above, pours out a vast number of other heterodox sects which scarcely have any reality beyond their names.

Ibn Ĥazm, who rejects the ḥadīth in question, and is in consequence not bound to any number, makes no attempt at an elaborate enumeration of the sects of Islam. In spite of it, or more probably because of it, his division of Muhammedan sects in general and of Shiitic sects in particular is the most natural and logical. Islam is accordingly divided into five sects, or, as the Sunna, properly speaking, is no sect, into four sects: the Mu'tazila, Murji'a, Khawârij, and Shi'a, the two former representing the dogmatic side, the two latter representing the political side of Islam. Kremer, in his "History of the Leading Ideas of Islam" (p. 16 sq.), rightly makes this division of Ibn Ĥazm the point of departure for his consideration of Muhammedan dogmas. As regards Shiism, Ibn Ĥazm shows the clearest conception of the problem by laying down the question of the Imâmate as principium divisions. The whole Shi'a accordingly appears divided into two large sections: on the one hand the

¹ See the index to this treatise, s.v. Rawâfiḍ.

Zeidiyya and on the other the Imâmiyya, or, to use the nomen odiosum by which Ibn Hâzm as well as other writers often designate the latter, the Rawâfid. Both sections agree in the conception of the Imâmâte as the exclusive privilege of the descendants of 'Alî. But they differ in their attitude toward the claims of 'Alî himself, and consequently in their judgment of 'Alî's opponents. In the opinion of the Imâmiyya, 'Alî was entitled to the caliphate by virtue of a written will of the Prophet. The "Companions," however, maliciously made this will disappear. The first caliphs were consequently usurpers and, acting, as they did, against the express wish of the Prophet, must be considered infidels. As such, they cannot be considered the bearers of Muhammedan tradition, and thus, with the exception of the Koran, a complete reorganization of Islam becomes necessary. The Zeidiyya deny the existence of a written will. 'Alî's claims to the Imâmâte merely lay in his superior qualities. His rejection on the part of the "Companions" was not prompted by any premeditated malice but solely due to an unintentional lack of appreciation. The first caliphs consequently were legitimate rulers, and they as well as the other "Companions" must be acknowledged as the rightful bearers of Muhammedan tradition. Thus the whole difference between the two sections of Shiism reduces itself to their attitude toward the "Companions" as the bearers of Islam. It is evident that the Zeidiyya are closely related to the Sunna, especially so when we remember that the Sunna itself yielded more and more to the Alidic tendencies prevalent among the masses of the Faithful, whereas the very basis of the Imâmiyya is a protest against orthodox Islam as handed down by the "Companions." In a survey which confines itself to the "*depravities*" of the Shiites there is consequently little room for the Zeidiyya. Only one section of them, the Jârûdiyya, is quoted at the beginning of the chapter on Shiitism (part B. of our text). But it is left unexplained whether they owe this distinction to their belief that the rejection of 'Alî was an intentional act of treachery and that the Companions were consequently infidels, or whether it is due to their belief in the second advent of certain Mahdîs,—a belief which they largely share with the Imâmiyya. The tenets of the latter, of course, occupy a much more prominent place among the "*depravities*" of the Shiites, and the bulk of the chapter

is devoted to them. The Ġulât—on this point Ibn Ḥazm agrees with al-Baghdâdî—are no Muslims at all. Only inasmuch as their tenets are bound up with the personality of ‘Alî, they are counted among the extreme sects of Shiism.

Between these two well-defined parties the sect of the Keisâniyya, which in early Islam played so important a rôle, occupies a somewhat ambiguous position. All other historians who regard as the basis of Shiism—common both to the Zeidiyya and the Imâmiyya—the restriction of the Imâmate to the descendants of *Fâtima*, necessarily place the Keisâniyya, who believe in the Imâmate of Muhammed ibn-al-Ḥanafîyya, ‘Alî’s son by another wife, in a separate category. Ibn Ḥazm, however, who considers the underlying principle of Shiism the recognition of the Imâmate of the descendants of ‘Alî, obviously makes the question of a written will the point of departure, and, since the Keisâniyya on this cardinal point agree with the Zeidiyya, expressly counts them among the sects of the latter. But our author is not consistent. For in the course of the chapter he reckons the Keisâniyya, on account of some peculiar tenets held by them, among the Imâmiyya. On the whole, it must be said that Ibn Ḥazm’s description betrays a painful lack of disposition. The chapter on Shiism suffers particularly from this defect. The various parts of the account cannot be easily distinguished. It is quite difficult to state where the report on the Zeidiyya ends and that on the Imâmiyya begins. Nor does the description of the individual sects within this range show any proper order. The value of Ibn Ḥazm’s account on Shiism is not to be attributed to its stylistic merits but principally to the facts it communicates and the historical material it contributes towards a better knowledge of the sects of the Shi‘a.

The present treatise is based on a monograph by the same author written some five years ago in German. It reproduced the texts now offered in English translation in the original Arabic, as the *Milal wa’n-Nihal* had not yet appeared in print and was only accessible in manuscripts. The first manuscripts I was able to peruse were those of Leyden and Vienna, which by the courtesy of the respective libraries were sent to me at Strassburg (Germany), where I lived at that time. The text of

the piece which appears here as part A. was based on these two manuscripts. For the second piece, the chapter on Shiism, I was limited to the Codex of Leyden, the Vienna manuscript being defective in this place. The contents of the chapter, which teems with proper names, and the character of the manuscript, which is practically void of all diacritical points, made it impossible to construct any reasonable text on so inadequate a basis. It was then that Professor Goldziher with characteristic kindness offered me his copy of this chapter made by him in 1878 from two twin-manuscripts belonging to Count Landberg one of which is now in the possession of the library of Yale University.¹ This copy presented a different recension of the *Milal wa'n-Nihal*, but it was nevertheless of incalculable value for the establishing of a critical text, and without it any attempt at publication would have proved a failure. As for the last two pieces, given here as C. and D., they were reproduced from the Leyden manuscript only, since their contents on the whole offered no unsurmountable difficulties. The texts constructed in the described manner and accompanied by introduction and notes constituted the said monograph, which was presented to and accepted by the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Strassburg as "Habilitationsschrift" preliminary to the author's admission as "Privatdozent." Subsequently, during several visits to London, I was able to consult the codex of the British Museum and, having settled in this country, I also had access to the manuscript stored in the library of Yale University. In the meantime, Ibn Hazm's *Milal wan-Nihal* had appeared in print in Cairo, being the faithful reproduction of a modern manuscript of that city.

All these circumstances greatly influenced the further destinies of the monograph and considerably altered and widened its scope. In the first place, it became necessary to utilize the new material afforded by the study of hitherto inaccessible manuscripts. With the publication of the *Milal wa'n-Nihal* the value of the manuscript extracts was considerably impaired and

¹ In Professor Goldziher's copy the two manuscripts are designated as A and B. The Yale manuscript is unquestionably identical with B, as can be seen from the few passages in which A and B slightly differ from one another (cmp., e. g., p. 48, n. 7). I have been unable to find out where A is at present.

it therefore became advisable to give the texts in translation instead. On the other hand, it was impossible to disregard the aid offered by the manuscripts at our disposal, two of which (those of Leyden and the British Museum) are five hundred years older than the manuscript reproduced in the printed edition. The text of the edition had to be carefully compared with that of the manuscripts, and the variants had to be embodied in the critical apparatus accompanying the translation.

A few remarks concerning the character of the translation offered below may prove useful to the reader. It is an obvious fact for the student of Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihāl* that the text of the edition represents a recension which essentially differs from the manuscripts of Leyden and the British Museum in the greater part of the work, and from the codices of Vienna and the British Museum in the earlier part of it. The recension offered by L. and Br. is apparently younger, and most probably represents a revised edition of Ibn Ḥazm's work. In spite of this fact the author of the present treatise deemed it his duty to base his translation on the text of the edition which is generally accessible. It was impossible to revise and amplify the printed text by means of the manuscripts, as this would have resulted in an unbearable mixture of recensions, which would have done justice to neither recension. It seemed, on the contrary, advisable to relegate the manuscript variants, however important, into the critical apparatus at the bottom of the translation. On the other hand, it was impossible to reproduce the printed text word for word, as the manuscript, of which the text is a slavish reproduction, is apparently faulty, and full of errors and lacunae. The text of the edition had consequently to be corrected first, and then in this amended form be made the basis of the English translation. The deviations of the latter from the printed Arabic text are made noticeable to the eye: the corrected readings by larger type and the words missing in the edition by square brackets. As regards the various readings, only those were recorded which appeared to be of some value in one way or the other. Mere stylistic variations were disregarded. Wherever the variants contained some historical information, or differed materially from the translated text, they were made conspicuous in type, so as to enable those readers who are merely interested in the historical aspect of the texts, to recognize at a glance

the readings which are of special interest to them. For the convenience of the reader the text was also divided into paragraphs. The manuscripts offer no breaks whatever, and the division in the edition is apparently arbitrary, and in most cases nonsensical. The headings of the various sections of the text were added for the same reason.

The introduction, offered herewith, had to be re-written, so as to include the increased material, now at the disposal of the author, and the results of his continued study of Ibn Ḥazm's work.

The commentary endeavors above all to be what the word designates; an explanation of the text, which is mostly abrupt and frequently obscure. The scarcity of literature on our subject, however, made it imperative to widen the scope of the commentary, and to include a careful and systematic discussion of the topics treated or suggested by Ibn Ḥazm. In doing so, the author tried to turn to account the modern literature on the subject in various European languages, so far as it represents original research, and to compile all the material available in Arabic literature. In the latter respect, the author was fortunate enough to have at his disposal a valuable and not inconsiderable material derived from manuscripts. The various manuscripts, quoted in various parts of this treatise, will be designated in due course. Here I will confine myself to a general reference to two manuscripts quoted throughout this treatise, which proved exceptionally valuable for our investigations. Both manuscripts are stored in the Imperial library in Berlin, and are closely related to each other. The one is the *Kitāb al-fark beina 'l-firak*, "Book on the Differences between the Sects," by Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baġdādī (died 429/1038, see Ahwardt's *Catalogue*, No. 2800), and a work of the same title by Shuhfūr b. Ṭāhir b. Muhammed al-Isfraīnī (died 471/1078, *ibidem* No. 2801). The former is known from a few quotations by Schreiner in ZDMG. (vol. 52) and in his book "Der Kalām in der jüdischen Litteratur"; the latter is often referred to in Haarbrücker's translation of Shahrastānī, and in the notes to the edition of the *Fihrist*. Each of these writers is quoted by Ḥāji Chalfā (vi, 115) as the author of a *Kitāb al-Milal wa'n-Nihāl*, of which frequent mention is also made in the *Kitāb al-fark* of Baġdadī. It appears, in fact, that

the manuscripts in question are extracts from a larger work which may have represented this *Milal wa'n-Nihal*. The two manuscripts show a remarkable affinity, which deserves further investigation. Materially they coincide nearly everywhere, and frequently they also agree verbatim. As far as I am able to judge, I am inclined to consider Isfraîni's book an abstract from that of Bağdâdî. The latter displays its genuine character by greater completeness, by personal recollections, by polemical, often quite tolerable, rhymes against the heretics, and the like features. Both manuscripts offer the great advantage of being carefully pointed, which, of course, is of special value in determining the pronunciation of the proper names. But they also contain extremely interesting material, and often supply us with important historical information undoubtedly drawn from old sources. Thus their account on the Sabâiyya offers the fullest and most valuable description of this fundamental sect of Shiism.

The disconnected character of the translated texts, which are derived from various sections of Ibn Hazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihal* written at various periods, make it impossible to pursue any definite arrangement or disposition. This inconvenience, however, is removed by means of a detailed index, which enables the reader to lay hand on all the material bearing on the subject in which he is interested. The list of the Alids mentioned in this treatise which is appended at the end will, we expect, be of service to the reader.

* * *

Before concluding, I feel obliged to tender the expression of my thanks to all those men and institutions that have been helpful to me in the work embodied in this treatise.

The first and largest share of my gratitude I owe, as always, to my dear master, Professor Theodor Nöldeke, who has, with untiring kindness, bestowed upon me the benefit of his instruction and his friendship. Without his continuous stimulus, furtherance and advice, this work would have never been undertaken or finished.

My heartfelt thanks are furthermore due to Professor Goldziher, not only for his repeated public references to the importance of Ibn Hazm's work and his contributions towards the

appreciation thereof, but also for his great kindness in lending me his copy of the chapter on Shiism, and in giving me, whenever required, his invaluable scholarly advice.

I feel greatly obliged to the University library of Strassburg (Germany), where I gathered most of the material for this work, to the officers of the Oriental department of the British Museum, who were unceasing in their efforts to facilitate my task, to the libraries of Leyden, Berlin, Vienna, Gotha and Yale University, for allowing me the use of their manuscripts.

TRANSLATION.

A. The Heterodox Sects in general.

[Printed Edition (=Ed.) II, pp. 111-117; Codex Leyden (=L.) I, fol. 135^a ff.; Codex British Museum (=Br.) I, fol. 135^a ff.; Codex Vienna (=V.) fol. 201 ff.; Codex Yale (=Y.) I, fol. 137^a ff.]

*In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful!*¹
Says the Fakîh² Abû Muhammed, *‘Alî b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, may Allah be pleased with him³:

Having with the help of Allah finished with the (non-Islamic) religions, let us with the assistance of Allah begin to describe the sects of the Muslims and the difference of opinion among the latter regarding these sects, to expound⁴ the evils which some of them (of the adherents of these sects) concocted against it (i. e. against Islam)⁵ by means of the special errors of their sect, and to set forth the arguments which are indispensable in order to indicate clearly the true sect among these (heterodox) sects, —in the same way as we proceeded in dealing with the religions.
*Much praise unto Allah, the Lord of all Created Beings: there is no assistance nor strength except in Allah, the Exalted, the Almighty!⁶

Says Abû Muhammed: Those that adhere to the community of Islam are divided into five⁷ sects: 1) the Sunnites, 2) the

¹ Br. + *وَبِهِ تَوَفِّيْقِي* + V. *صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلٰى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَحَبِيْبِهِ*.

² Br. V. om.—L. *الفقيه الإمام* “the poor, the Imâm.”

³ Br. V. om.

⁴ Br. V. + *جميع* “all.”

⁵ Ed. L. *بِه* “against it,” L. V. Y. *بِهَا* “against them.” See Commentary.

⁶ Br. V. om.

⁷ Ed. and Codd. *خمسة* (instead of *خمس*) against the grammatical rule.

Mu'tazilites, 3) the Murji'ites, 4) the Shi'ites, and 5) the Khârijites.¹ Each of these sects again is divided into a number of (smaller) sects.

The greatest difference of opinion among the *Sunnites* prevails in questions of religious practice and a few particulars of religious doctrine which will be explained hereafter. As to the other four² sects, enumerated above, there are some among them who differ widely from the *Sunnites* and others who differ from them but slightly.

Among the sections of the *Murji'ites* the nearest to the *Sunnites* are those who follow the doctrine of the Faḳīh Abū Ḥanīfa that Faith consists in acknowledging the truth both with the tongue and the heart and that the religious ceremonies are nothing but laws and precepts imposed by Faith. The farthest among them are the adherents of Jahm b. Ṣafwân, 'al-Ash'arī and 'Muhammed b. Karrām of Sijistân.³ For *Jahm and al-Ash'arī maintain⁴ that Faith only consists in believing with the heart, though one profess with his tongue Unbelief and the doctrine of Trinity [112] and worships the Crucified (Christ) *in the dominions of Islam without fear (i. e. compulsion).⁷ *Muhammed b. Karrām, on the other hand, maintains⁸ that Faith is only expression with the tongue, though one adhere⁹ to Unbelief in his heart.

Among the sects of the *Mu'tazilites* the nearest to the *Sunnites* are the followers of *al-Ḥusein b. Muhammed an-Najjâr, Bishr b. Giyâth of Maris (in Egypt), as well as the followers of¹⁰

¹ Br. : 4) Khârijites ; 5) Shi'ites.

² Ed. L. Y. incorrectly *الأربعة* ; Br. V. *الأربع*.

³ Br. V. + *واعحاب* "and the adherents of."

⁴ Br. V. + "and the adherents of."

⁵ In Eastern Iran. Br. V. om.

⁶ L. Y. *بعض هؤلاء يقولون* "some of these maintain." This is a later correction. See Comm.—Instead of *يقولون* in Ed. read *يقولان* as in Br. V. ⁷ L. Y. om.

⁸ L. Y. *يقولون* (acc. after *فإن*) *والآخرين* "and others maintain."

⁹ Br. V. *واعتقد* (V. corrected on the margin *وإن اعتقد*).

¹⁰ Br. om. through homoioteleuton.

Dirâr b. 'Amr. The farthest among them are the followers of 'Abû'l-Huðeîl.¹

Among the schools of the *Shi'ites* the nearest to the Sunnites are those who count themselves among the followers of the Faḳīh al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy² of the Banû Hamdân³ who maintain that the Imâmate is confined to the descendants of 'Alî.⁴ It is, however, an established fact that al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ—may Allah have mercy on him!—was of the same opinion as we are, viz., that the Imâmate extends to the whole of the Kureish, and that he maintained a friendly attitude towards all⁵ the Companions (of the Prophet), the only exception being that he gave 'Alî the preference over all of them.⁶ The farthest among them are the Imâmîtes.

Among the sects of the *Khârijites* the nearest to the Sunnites are the followers of 'Abdallah b. Yazîd al-Ibâdî,⁷ of Kûfa. The farthest among them are the 'Azraḳites.

As to the followers of Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it,⁸ Aḥmad b. Yânûsh,⁹ al-Faḍl of Ḥarrân,¹⁰ the extremists *among the Rawâfîd, the Sûfî's,¹¹ the Bittîkhîyya,¹² the followers of Abû Ismâ'îl al-Biṭ-

¹ Ed. misprint الهزيل (with ز).—L. Br. V. + “al-'Allâf.” See Comm. —V. the whole passage mutilated واقرب فرق المعتزلة الى اهل السنة واصحاب ابى الهذيل العلان واقرب مذاهب الشيعة الى اهل السنة اصحاب ضرار بن عمرو وابعدهم اصحاب ابى الهذيل العلان.

² L. حنى, Br. V. حنى. See Comm.

³ Ed. incorrectly الهمزاني (with ز); Y. الهمداني “of Hamadân” (in Persia).

⁴ Codd. + فقط “alone.”

⁵ Br. om. See next note.

⁶ V. marginal gloss by another hand وقيل انه كان يفضل على عثمان فقط “It is assumed that he gave him the preference over Othmân only.”

⁷ Y. الاياضى.

⁸ Ed. Y. حابط, V. حابط (sic), L. خابط, Br. حافظ. See Comm.

⁹ Ed. نابوس, Br. نابوس, V. نابوس, Y. نابوس, L. مالوس. See Comm.

¹⁰ Ed. الحزنى. —L. Br. Y. الحزنى, V. الحزنى.

¹¹ L. Y. Om.

¹² Ed. البطيحية and البطيحي with soft ح.

tikhî, those of the 'Ajârîda who deny the "Ijmâ'" and others, —they do not belong to the Muslims, but are unbelievers in the common opinion of the whole Muhammedan nation. Let us seek refuge in Allah, when we are forsaken !

Exposition of the fundamental tenets of each of these sects, being the characteristics by which they are distinguished.

Says Abû Muhammed: As to the *Murji'ites*, the pillar which they hold fast is the question as to the nature of Faith and Apostasy and the proper application of these terms, and Punishment.¹ Outside of this they differ in their opinions as much as the others.

As to the *Mu'tazilites*, the pillar which they hold fast is the question of Unity and the Divine Attributes. *Some of them also add² the problem of Free Will, the application of the terms Wickedness and Faith, and Punishment. In the question of Divine Attributes the Mu'tazilites are joined by Jahm b. Safwân, Mukâtil b. Suleimân, the Ash'arites and other Murji'ites, as well as by Hishâm b. al-Hakam, Sheitân at-Tâk—whose proper name was Muhammed b. Ja'far, of Kûfa,³—and Dâwûd al-Hawarî, who are all Shi'ites.⁴ [113] Yet we mentioned this root as a specific characteristic of the Mu'tazilites, because those who speculate about it do not (eo ipso) renounce the doctrine of the Sunnites or⁵ that of the Mu'tazilites, while the Murji'ites and Shi'ites, mentioned above, are discriminated by special teachings which actually stand outside the doctrine of the Sunnites and Mu'tazilites.

As to the *Shi'ites*, the pillar of their speculation is the question of the Imâmate and the Degrees of excellence of the Companions of the Prophet. Outside of this they differ as much as the others.

As to the *Khârijites*, the pillar of their school is the question as to the nature of Faith and Apostasy and the proper applica-

¹ Br. واعبد (sic). The original reading possibly was الوعد والوعيد
"Reward and Punishment."

² Br. V. "and."

³ L. Y. om. الكوفي.

⁴ Ed. L. Y. شيعة ; Br. V. افضة شيعة .

⁵ L. Y. "and."

tion of these terms, the question of **Punishment**,¹ and the Imâmate. Outside of this they differ as much as the others.

We have set up these topics as characteristic of the parties in question, because he who, e. g., maintains that the religious practices of the body constitute Faith, since² the latter increases through obedience³ (by observing these practices) and decreases through disobedience⁴ (by neglecting them), and that a believer becomes an unbeliever through the least transgression (regarding these practices), or that even he who is a believer both in his heart and⁵ with his tongue may (nevertheless) suffer eternal punishment in hell, is no *Murji'ite*. He, however, who agrees with them on these points, but differs from them in all other matters regarding which the Muslims are divided in their opinions, is a *Murji'ite*.

He who differs from the *Mu'tazilites* regarding the Creation of the Koran, the Beholding (of God on the day of Resurrection), the Anthropomorphisms,⁶ or regarding their opinion that the man who commits a capital sin is neither a believer nor an unbeliever, but (merely) a sinner, does not belong to them. He, however, who agrees with them regarding the above-mentioned points, is one of them, though he differ from them in all other matters regarding which the Muslims are divided in their opinions.

He who agrees with the *Shi'ites* that 'Alî is the most excellent of men after the Prophet and that he and his descendants after him are worthier of the Imâmate than anyone, is a *Shi'ite*, though he differ from them in all other matters regarding which the Muslims are divided in their opinions. He, however, who differs from them regarding the above-mentioned points, is no *Shi'ite*.

¹ Ed. erroneously الوعد "Reward." Codd. and previously Ed. الوعيد.

² Ed. L. Br. Y. فَإِنَّ ; V. وَأَنَّ "and that."

³ L. Y. om. بالطاعة.

⁴ L. Y. om. بالمعصية.

⁵ L. Y. "or."

⁶ Ed. correctly والتشبيه lit.: "and the comparing" (of God with created beings).—L. والتسميه, V. والنسبه, Br. Y. والنشبيه.

He who agrees with the *Khârijites* in denying (the right of) appealing to judges and in regarding those that commit capital sins as apostates, also shares with them the belief that rebellion against tyrannical rulers is a religious duty, and that those who commit capital sins suffer eternal punishment in hell, and finally that the Imâmate is also permissible outside of the Kureish, is a Khârijite, though he differ from them in all other matters regarding which the Muslims are divided in their opinions. [If however]¹ he differs from them regarding the above-mentioned points, then he is no Khârijite.

Says Abû Muhammed: As to the adherents of the Sunna, they (alone) are the adherents of truth, while all others are adherents of heresy. For Sunnites were the Companions of the Prophet and the best of the "Followers" who walked in their footsteps, then the masters of the Ḥadīth (Oral Tradition), *the Faḳīhs who succeeded them, generation after generation, until this very day and the bulk of the people who emulated their example in the East and the West of the Earth—the mercy of Allah upon them!²

[114] Says Abû Muhammed: There were, however, people who usurped the name of Islam, though all the sects of³ Islam agree that they are no Muslims. Thus there were sections among the *Khârijites* who went to the extreme, maintaining that the ṣalât (obligatory prayer) was no more than one "bow" in the morning and one in the evening. Others permitted the marriage with granddaughters and the daughters of nephews. They also maintained that the Joseph Sûra did not belong to the Koran. There were others among them⁴ who maintained that the adulterer and thief ought to be punished, but then be called to repent their apostasy. If they do so, (then well and good); if not, (only then) they ought to be killed.

There were also sections among the *Mu'tazilites* who afterwards went to the extreme and held the belief in the Transmi-

¹ Ed. om. *فإن* through oversight.

² L. only *ومن أتبعهم* "and those that succeeded them."

³ Br. V. om. *فرق*.

⁴ Here begins a lacuna of one leaf in Br. (between fol. 136^a and 137^a).

gration of Souls. Others among them maintained that the fat and the brain of swine was permitted.

Among the *Murji'ites* there were sections who maintained that Iblis never asked permission from Allah to look (at Adam) and that he never admitted¹ that Allah created him out of fire and Adam out of dust.² Others maintained that prophecy could be attained by right conduct.

There were others among the *Sunnites* who went to the extreme,³ maintaining that there were some pious who were superior to prophets and angels, and that he who attained the true knowledge of God was exempt from religious laws and ceremonies. Some of them held the belief that the Creator resides in the bodies of his creatures, like al-Hallâj and others.

There were sections among the *Shi'ites* who afterwards went to the extreme, some of them holding the belief in the divinity of 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib and the Imâms after him. Some of them believed in his [as well as in their]⁴ prophecy, also in the Transmigration of Souls, like the poet as-Sayyid al-Himyarî and others. One section of them believed in the divinity of Muhammad b. Abî Zeinab, a client of the Banû Asad. Another section believed in the prophecy of Muġîra b. 'Sa'id, a client of the Banû Bajîla,⁵ in the prophecy of Abû Manşûr al-'Ijlî (of the Banû Ijl), of the weaver Bazîġ,⁶ of Bayân⁷ b. Sam'ân, belonging to the Banû Tamîm and the like. Others among them held the belief in 'Alî's re-appearance on earth. They

¹ V. + منذ امتنع من السجود لآدم "when he refused to prostrate himself before Adam." See Comm.

² V + (gap of one word). . . . ولا بأن الله كرم آدم عليه ولا بأن الله "nor that Allah honored Adam more than him, nor that Allah"

³ Ed. erroneously ففعلوا instead of فعلوا .

⁴ Ed. erroneously om. ونبؤة ولدته V. ; ونبؤتهم .

⁵ Ed. and Codd. + Abî. See Comm.

⁶ Ed. بجلة misprint for بجيلة .

⁷ L. برع , Ed. بزيع , V. بزيك (on the margin corrected by another hand بزيع), Y. بزيع .

⁸ L. وبنان . See Comm.

refused to believe in the open meaning of the Koran, asserting that the open meaning should be interpreted allegorically. Thus they maintained that "the Sky" was Muhammed and "the Earth"¹ his Companions. (In the verse) "Behold, Allah commandeth you to slaughter a cow"²—"a cow" means N.N., i. e., the Mother of the Faithful. They equally maintained that "Justice" and "Charity"³ referred to 'Alī and that "Jibt" and "Ṭāġūt"⁴ were N.N. and N.N., alluding to Abū Bekr and 'Omar. They similarly maintained that "ṣalāt" (obligatory prayer) meant supplication to the Imām, "zakāt" (alms) donations to the Imām and "hajj" (pilgrimage) going to the Imām. There were among them stranglers and skull-breakers.

None of these sects cares in the least for logical demonstration. The only proof they possess is the claim of inspiration, impudence and the capacity to lie openly. [115] They pay no attention⁵ to any argumentation. But it suffices to refute them by saying: "What is the difference between you and those who claim that they were informed by way of inspiration of the absurdity of your belief?" There is no way to extricate oneself from this (reply). Besides, all the sections of Islam hold themselves aloof from them, regarding them as apostates and unanimously agreeing that their belief is not that of Islam. Let us seek refuge in Allah, when we are forsaken!

Says Abū Muhammed: The reason why most of these sects deserted⁶ the religion⁷ of Islam is, at bottom, this. The Persians originally were the masters of a large kingdom and had the upper hand over all the nations. They were in consequence possessed with such mighty self-esteem⁸ that they called themselves "nobles" and "sons," while the rest of mankind were

¹ Koran XXX, 24.² Koran II, 63.³ Koran XVI, 72.⁴ Koran IV, 54 (the names of two idols).—For "Jibt" Ed. L. erroneously الخبث "abomination."⁵ Ed. يلتفتون; L. Y. يتتفقون ("to be amended"; Lane, s. v.) V. يستفقون.⁶ Read أكثر خروج as in L.—V. Y. om. أكثر "most of."⁷ V. دائرة "the circle."⁸ Ed. الخطير, read الخطر; V. الخطرة.

regarded by them as slaves. But when they were visited (by God) and their empire was taken away from them by the Arabs,—the same Arabs who in the estimation of the Persians possessed the least dignity of all nations,—the matter weighed much more heavily upon them and the calamity assumed double proportions in their eyes, and thus they made up their mind to beguile Islam by attacking it at different periods. But in all this Allah makes Truth come to light. Among their rebels were **Sunbād**,¹ **Ustādsīs**,² al-Muḥanna‘, Bābak and others. **Previous**³ to these appeared with the same intention ‘Ammār, with the nickname Khidāsh,⁴ and Abū **Muslim**⁵ as-Sirāj.⁶ When they saw that to entrap Islam by trickery was more profitable, some of them outwardly professed Islam and won the sympathies of the people with Shi‘itic inclinations, by feigning affection for the members of the prophetic family and by condemning the injustice done to ‘Alī. Thus they led them about on various paths, till at last they carried them away from Islam.

Some people among them lured them into the belief that a man by the name of “al-Mahdī” (the rightly Guided) was to be expected, who was the only one in possession of true⁷ religion, since religion could not be accepted from those “Apostates,”—the companions of the Prophet being accused by them of apostasy. Some went as far as to believe in⁸ the prophecy of those for whom they claimed prophecy, and some of them, as already mentioned, led them astray on the path leading to the belief in

¹ Ed. ستقاد, V. سقاد, L. Y. سنقاد. Maḥrizī, *Khīṭaṭ* ii, 362 (quotation from Ibn Ḥazm) شنقاد, Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj ad-Dahab* (vi, 188)

سنقاد.—The correct reading Ṭabarī, *Annales* III, 119.

² Ed. Y. استاسيس, V. استاسين, L. اسادسس, Maḥrizī, *ib.* اشنيس.—The correct reading Ṭab. III, 354.

³ Ed. misprint قبل for قيل.

⁴ Ed. and Maḥrizī خدش, Y. خدش, V. خداس, L. unpointed.

⁵ Ed. misprint سلم.

⁶ V. السراج, Maḥr. السروح. See Comm.

⁷ V. om. حقيقة.

⁸ L. V. Y. + ما ذكرنا من “what we mentioned of.”

incarnation and exemption from religious ceremonies. Some again made fun (of them)¹ by imposing upon them fifty obligatory prayers² every day and night, while others reduced them to seventeen³ obligatory prayers, with fifteen⁴ "bows" in each,—the latter being the opinion of 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith,⁵ before he became a Khārijite of Ṣufritic persuasion. On the same road also went the Jew 'Abdallah b. Sabā, the Ḥimyarite. For he, too,—Allah curse him!—outwardly professed Islam in order to beguile⁶ its adherents. He also was the main factor in instigating the people against 'Othmān. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib burned certain groups⁷ of them who publicly proclaimed his divinity. From [116] these baneful roots sprang up the Ismailites and Karimatians, two sections who publicly renounce Islam altogether and profess not only the purest Magism but also the doctrine⁸ of Mazdak⁹ the Mobad¹⁰ who lived at the time of Anūshirwān b. Kābād,¹¹ the king of the Persians, and who advocated the necessity of communism regarding women and property. Says Abū Muhammed: When **they** had brought¹² the people¹³ as far as these two narrow passes, they turned **them**¹⁴ away from Islam, as they pleased,—which in fact was their only intention.

¹ Y. + بهم.

² Here Br. begins again (fol. 137^a).

³ Ed. Br. Y. 17; L. V. 19. See Comm.

⁴ Ed. L. incorrectly خمسة عشر; Br. V. خمس عشرة.

⁵ Y. al-Ḥarb. See Comm.

⁶ Ed. ليكيد; Codd. more smoothly ليكيد.

⁷ Br. V. sing.

⁸ V. more explicitly بمذهب. L. Y. ذهب.

⁹ Ed. Y. مردك.

¹⁰ Ed. Y. الموجذ.

¹¹ Ed. قيمان, Y. قياد, V. قباد, L. unp.

¹² Ed. بلغ. Codd. correctly بلغوا.

¹³ Y. البائس "the unfortunate one," see next note; V. on the margin + والنساء "and the women."

¹⁴ Ed. L. Y. اخرجوه "him," supporting the reading of Y.; see preceding note.

By Allah, by Allah, ye servants of Allah ! Fear ye Allah in your souls and be not by any means seduced by adherents of unbelief and heterodoxy or by those who embellish their words not with logical proof, but with mere forgeries,¹ who advise (you) contrary to the messages of the Book of your Lord and of the words of your Prophet: for there is no good in anything besides these two. Know ye that the religion of Allah is open, with no hidden² meaning in it, public, with no secret behind it, all of it logical demonstration, with no laxity about it. Suspect ye everyone who calls on you to follow him without proof and everyone who claims for religion secrecy and a hidden meaning, for (all such claims) are nothing but presumptions and lies. Know ye that the Apostle of Allah did not conceal even as much as a single word of the Law, nor did he allow even those who were nearest to him, viz., his wife, daughter, uncle or cousin on his father's side, or any of his companions, as much as a glimpse into anything appertaining to the Law, which he should have kept back from the Red and Black and the humblest shepherds. The Prophet did not keep to himself any secret or allusion or any hidden explanation, besides the message which he brought to the whole of mankind. Had he withheld from them anything, then he would not have delivered (his message)³ as he was commanded. He who holds such an opinion⁴ is an apostate. Be ye on your guard against any opinion whose way is not clear and whose proof is not distinct. **Do** not swerve⁵ in the slightest from the views held by your Prophet and his Companions!

Says Abû Muhammed: We have already set forth the disgraceful tenets of all these sects in a short book of ours, entitled:⁶

¹ Ed. بتمويهات the only correct reading.—L. بهاب, Br. سماوت, V. بتمان, Y. تماوت.

² Br. V. باطل "absurd."

³ Br. V. بلغهم + "to them."

⁴ Br. V. غير هذا "another opinion."

⁵ Ed. تعوجًا. Codd. better تعوجوا; Y. تعرجوا in a similar meaning.

⁶ Ed. اسمه.—Codd. رَسْمه "designated as."

“The saving advices against the disgusting infamies and pernicious depravities contained in the beliefs of the adherents of heresy among the four sects: the Mu‘tazilites, the Murji‘ites, the Khârijites and the Shi‘ites.” We subsequently appended it at the end of our exposition on the sects in this work.¹

The consummation of all good² is that you should cling to the text which your Lord wrote down³ in the Koran—in Arabic language, making clear, with no negligence whatever as regards clearness, everything—as well as the words which are firmly established as those of your Prophet through the traditions of the reliable authorities⁴ among the Imâms (leaders) of⁵ the masters of the Hadîth, *in a chain leading up to the Prophet:⁶ both ways [117] will enable you to attain the satisfaction of your Lord.

We shall forthwith proceed [to discuss]⁷ the topics which are the pillar concerning which the Muslims are divided in their opinions, i. e., Unity, Free Will, Faith, Punishment, the Imâmate and the Degrees of excellence (of the Companions) and then finish with those matters which the Mutakallimûn call “latâ‘if” (subtleties). We shall set forth all *the proofs they adduce⁸ and expound with convincing arguments the points of truth in all this,—in the same way as we proceeded previously,⁹ with Allah’s assistance unto us and his support. There is no assistance nor strength except in Allah, the Exalted, the Almighty.

¹ L. Y. om. this sentence. See my essay: “Zur Komposition von Ibn Hazm’s *Milal wan-Nihâl*” in *Nöldeke’s Jubelschrift*, i, p. 273.

² Br. V. الخبر “information.”

³ L. Br. V. عليه.—Ed. Y. عليكم is not as good.

⁴ Ed. erroneously spelt الثقات.

⁵ Br. V. om. ائمة.

⁶ L. Y. om.

⁷ Codd. في الكلام (Br. بالكلام). Ed. om. probably owing to homoioteleuton.

⁸ Br. V. احج به كل طائفة منهم “every party of them adduces.”

⁹ Br. V. instead في الملل “with the religions.”

B. The Heterodoxies of the Shi'ites.

[Printed Edition (=Ed.) IV pp. 178-188; Codex Leyden (=L.) II fol. 135^a ff.; Codex British Museum (=Br.) III fol. 87^a ff.; Codex A III fol. 105^a ff.; Cod. Yale (=Y.) III fol. 70^a ff. The variants quoted anonymously are taken from L. and Br. and, if not otherwise stated, are identical in both Codices. The readings of Y. are, if not otherwise stated, identical with those in A. On Codex A and the other codices see Introduction, pp. 17 and 24.]

¹ *Description of *the grave errors² leading to apostasy or absurdity contained in *the views of the adherents of heresy: the Mu'tazilites, the Khārijites, the Murji'ites and the Shi'ites.*³

Says Abu Muhammed:⁴ We have already described in this work the infamies of the religions opposed to Islam [and the lies]⁵ which are found in their Scriptures, viz., those of the Jews, Christians and Magicians, besides which nothing remains⁶ for them,⁷ so that nobody who becomes acquainted with them (their Scriptures)⁸ will doubt that those people are engrossed in error. Now let us proceed with these four sects and describe their detestable tenets so that this work may render clear to every reader that they are engrossed in error and absurdity, and may thus prevent those whom Allah wishes to guide the right

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ +
 (وآله وصحبه وسلم Br.) وسلم تسليماً See "Zur Komposition von Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wan-Niḥal," p. 272, n. 2.

² الشُّنْع "the depravities."

³ بِدْعِ الرَّاغِضَةِ وَالْخَوَارِجِ وَالْمُعْتَزِلَةِ وَالْمُرْجِيَّةِ "the heresies of the Rawāfiḍ, the Khārijites, the Mu'tazilites and the Murji'ites." See "Zur Komposition, etc." p. 274, n. 1. See Comm.

⁴ Y. (also later) + رَضَهُ.

⁵ Ed. Y. om. والكذب which is indispensable.

⁶ Ed. Y. بَقِيَّة; L. Br. بَيِّنَةٌ "proof." See Commentary.

⁷ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ "Praise unto Allah, the Lord of all Created Beings!"—also مِمَّا لَا instead of وَلَا.

⁸ عَلَيْهِ "with it."

way from joining them or from continuing [to be]¹ with them. There is no assistance nor strength except in Allah the Exalted, the Almighty.

We wish, however, the reader of this our book² to understand that we do not consider permissible—as do those in whom there is no good—to quote in anyone's³ name any statement which he⁴ did not make verbatim, though the (general) view (conveyed by the quotation) may go back to him (the quoted person). For the latter may not always cling to the consequences following from⁵ his (general) view and thus a contradiction may appear (between the quotation and the actual opinions of the quoted writer). You must know that quoting in anyone's name—be he an infidel, a heretic or a (mere) sinner—a statement which he did not make verbatim is equal to telling lies about him, and lying is not allowed against anybody. ⁶On the other hand, they sometimes hide detestable ideas behind ambiguous expressions, so as to make them more attractive to ignorant people and to those of their followers **who think well of them**⁷ and to make it difficult for the bulk [179] of their opponents⁸ to grasp⁹ (the full significance of) the heresy in question. Thus when certain sections among the adherents of

¹ Ed. om. *على الكون*.

² *كلامنا* "our words."

³ *من خصومنا* "anyone of our opponents."

⁴ *نقله* "we" which makes no sense.

⁵ *نتج* II conclure, tirer des conséquences (Dozy). Cf. also I. Friedlaender, *Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides* I (1902) sub voce.—Y. *يبيح* "permitted by."

⁶ L. + "He says"; Br. + "Says Abû Muhammed."

⁷ I follow the reading of L. Br. *وعلى من أحسن الظن بهم*.—Ed. Y. *ويحسن النظر بهم* is against the construction, both of the phrase and the verb (*نظر* in this meaning being followed by *في*).

⁸ *مخالفهم*.—Ed. Y. incorrectly *مخالفهم*.

⁹ Om. *فهم*.

heterodoxy and fallacy¹ say²: God cannot be described as having the power to do something absurd, or unjust, or false,³ or anything of which he does not know beforehand that it will happen,⁴ they (deliberately) conceal the gravest heresy in this proposition, in order to mollify⁵ the illiterate among their adherents⁶ and appease the crowd of their opponents. (They do so), because they are afraid of openly declaring⁷ their belief which in fact means that the Almighty has no power over injustice, nor strength over falsehood, nor might over absurdity. We are necessarily compelled to disclose forgeries of this kind and expose them in the clearest possible terms. We thus hope to get near Allah by rending asunder their veils and disclosing their secrets.⁸ "Allah is sufficient for us. He is an excellent Protector!"

Description of the Depravities of the Shi'ites.

Says Abû Muhammed : The adherents of depravities (heterodoxies) belonging to this sect are divided into three sections.

I. The first of them is the *Jârâdiyya*, a part of the *Zeidiyya*.

II. Then the *Imâmiyya*, belonging to the *Rawâfid*, and finally

III. the *Extremists*.

¹ الْمُحْدِينَ فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ + "those who go astray from the religion of Allah."

² إِذْ + "since" which makes no sense. It is probably to be corrected in أَنْ "that."

³ وَلَا عَلَى الدُّعَاءِ إِلَى الْبَاطِلِ + "or to call (mankind) to anything nonsensical."

⁴ يَفْعَلُهُ + "that he will do it."

⁵ ي. تَأْيِيسَ (L. Br. unpointed) "to bring into despair" which makes no sense.

⁶ + وَمُقَلِّدِيهِمْ "and their imitators."

⁷ خُبْثٌ + "the ugliness of."

⁸ وَتَنْفِيرِ النَّاسِ عَنْ ضَلَالَتِهِمْ + "and to make people flee from their fallacy."

⁹ Koran III, 167.

I. As to the *Jārūdiyya*, a part of them believed in Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. **al-Hasan**¹ b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the same² who rose in Medina against Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr. The latter dispatched against him³ 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muhammed *b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallah⁴ b. al-'Abbās, who killed Muhammed b. 'Abdallah *b. al-Ḥasan, Allah have mercy on him!⁵ This section then believed that the said Muhammed was alive,⁶ that he was never killed, that he never died⁷ nor will ever die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity. Another section of them believed in Yahya b. 'Omar *b. Yahya⁸ b. al-Ḥusein⁹ b. Zeid d. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusein b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who rose in Kufa *in the days of¹⁰ al-Musta'in. Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusein b. Muṣ'ab, the wāli of Bagdad for al-Musta'in, dispatched against him the son of his paternal uncle al-Ḥusein b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, the nephew of Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab,¹¹ who killed Yahya b. 'Omar, Allah have mercy on him! The said section then believed that this Yahya b. 'Omar was alive,¹² that he was never killed, *that he never died¹³ nor will ever die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity.—

¹ Ed. and Codd. al-Ḥusein.² هو .³ + ابن أخيه "the son of his brother."⁴ Om.⁵ Om.⁶ + الى اليوم "until this day."⁷ + وانه حتى بالحاجر من جبل رضى "and that he lived in Ḥājir in the mountain of Raḍwā."⁸ Om.⁹ Al-Ḥasan.¹⁰ على "against" instead of أيام (also later).¹¹ I follow the reading of L. Br. ابن مصعب والى بغداد للمستعينين

ابن عمّه الحسين بن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم بن مصعب وهو ابن بأمير المستعينين.—Ed. Y. اخى السخاف بن ابراهيم بن مصعب بن عمّه الحسن بن اسماعيل بن الحسين وهو ابن اخى طاهر بن عمّه الحسين "by order of al-Musta'in the son of his paternal uncle (read عمّه) al-Ḥasan (sic) b. Ismā'il b. al-Ḥusein, the son of the brother of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusein." See Comm.

¹² + الى اليوم "until this day." ¹³ Om.

Another section believed that Muhammed b. al-Kâsim b. 'Alî b. 'Omar b. 'Alî b. al-Husein b. 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, who rose in Tâliḳân¹ in the days of al-Mu'tasim, was alive, that he never died, *nor was ever killed² nor will ever die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity.

The *Keisâniyya*, the followers [of Keisân Abû 'Omra, one of the followers]³ of al-Mukhtâr b. Abî 'Ubeid⁴—they are in our opinion a branch⁵ of the Zeidiyya in their tendency⁶—that Muhammed b. Alî b. Abî Tâlib—i. e., Ibn al-Hanafîyya—was (still) alive in the mountains⁷ of Raḍwâ, having on his right a lion and on his left a leopard, conversing with angels, his sustenance coming to him in the morning and in the evening, that he never died, nor will ever die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity.

II. *Some of the Imâmitic Rawâfiḍ—I refer to the sect⁸ called al-*Mamṭûra*—believed that Mûsa b. Ja'far b. Muhammed b. 'Alî b. al-Husein b. 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib was alive, that he never died [180] nor will ever die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity. Another group of them, viz, the *Nâwusiyya*, the followers of⁹ Nâwus¹⁰ of Baṣra,¹¹ believed *the same of his father Ja'far b. Muhammed.¹² Another group believed

¹ من بلاد خراسان "in the lands of Khorâsân."

² Om.

³ Supplied from L. Br. كيسان ابي عمرة وكان من اصحاب. Ed. Y. om. through homoioteleuton.

⁴ + التقفى "of the Banû Takîfa."

⁵ Ed. correctly شعبة, Br. شعبة, L. شعبة.

⁶ Lit.: "path."—L. Br. سبلهم plural.

⁷ Sing.

⁸ Merely فرقة من الرافضة "a section of the Rawâfiḍ." See Introduction, pp. 22 and 23.

⁹ I. Br. A. + Ibn. ¹⁰ اوس.

¹¹ Ed. Y. المصري "from Egypt." See Comm.

¹² ان جعفر بن محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب حي لم يموت ولا يموت حتى يملأ الارض عدلا كما ملئت جورا "that Ja'far b. Muh. b. 'Alî b. al-Hus. b. 'Alî b. A. T. was alive, that he never died nor will ever die until, etc." The same elaborate formula instead of مثل also later.

the same of his brother Ismâ'il b. Ja'far. The Sabâ'iyya,¹ the followers of the Jew² 'Abdallah ibn Sabâ the Himyarite, believed the same of 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, adding³ that he was in the clouds. But I wish I knew in what particular cloud he is to be found, there being so many clouds in the different zones of the earth "that are compelled to do service between heaven and earth," as Allah the Almighty said.⁴ *The said 'Abdallah ibn Sabâ, having received the news of 'Alî's murder,⁵ expressed himself in these terms: "Even if you had brought us his brains in seventy bags,⁶ we would not be convinced of his death. He will surely not die until he has filled the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity." Some of the Keisâniyya *believed that Abû Muslim as-Sirâj was alive and has not died, and that he will undoubtedly appear again. Others of the Keisâniyya⁷ believed that 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far b. Abî Tâlib was alive in the mountains of Işbahân until this day and will undoubtedly appear again. This 'Abdallah is the same who rose in Fâris in the days of Merwân b. Muhammed and was killed by Abû Muslim, after the latter had kept him in prison for a long time.⁸ This 'Abdallah held detestable⁹ opinions in religious matters, being a Nihilist and seeking the company of the Dahriyya.

¹ Ed. Y. Sabâbiyya. Br. unpointed; L. as above. See Comm.

² فكان يهوديا فأظهر الإسلام "he was a Jew but outwardly professed Islam." Cf. p. 37.

³ وقالوا "maintaining."

⁴ Koran II, 159.

⁵ ولما قيل لابن سبا ان ورد قتل علي رضي الله عنه قد مات علي "When it was said to Ibn Sabâ, after the murder of 'Alî had taken place: 'Alî has died."

⁶ I follow the reading of A. في سبعين ضربة, see Comm. Ed. Y. سبعين مرة "70 times." L. Br. ضربة (Br. unp.) "70 blows" which makes no sense.

⁷ L. om. through homoioteleuton.

⁸ مدة "a while."

⁹ فاسد "corrupt."

Says Abû Muhammed: These people only follow in the footsteps of the Jews who believe that *Malkizedek [b. Fâlig] b. 'Ābir [b. Shālih] b. Arphakhshad b. Sâm b. Nûh¹ and the servant whom Ibrâhîm dispatched to woo Ribkâ,² the daughter of Bethu'âl³ b. Nâkhûr⁴ b. Târikh for his son Ishâk, and Ilyâs (Elijah) and Phinhâs b. Al'âzâr⁵ b. Hârûn are alive until this day.⁶ The same direction is also taken by some silly⁷ Sâfis, who affirm that Ilyâs and al-Khaḍir are both alive until this day, some of them even claiming that **they**⁸ met Ilyâs in deserts⁹ and al-Khaḍir on lanes and meadows,¹⁰ and that the latter, whenever called, instantly appears¹¹ before the man who has called him.

Says Abû Muhammed: How does al-Khaḍir accomplish it, *if he is called in the East, the West, the North and the South¹² and¹³

¹ Ed. Y. ملكيصادق بن عامر (عابر ي.) بن ارفخشذ الخ. — L. Br. also add Methusalem, but the reading is corrupt: متوشايخ بن خنوخ وان العبد ملك صدق (ملكيصدق) بن عامر — On the readings adopted in the text see Commentary.

² Ed. Y. ربعا, L. Br. ربعا.

³ Ed. Y. بنوآل.

⁴ ابور.

⁵ Algâzâr.

⁶ + في الدنيا ولا يدرون اين هم "on earth, but it is not known where they are."

⁷ Ed. Y. تركي makes no sense. L. Br. نوكي (L. under it in tiny letters أنوك plural of the elativ نوكي = احمق وعقلسن).

⁸ Ed. Y. singular (انه يلقي), taking the preceding بعض as "one." The singular, however, contradicts the statement in the next paragraph.

⁹ الموحشة ويلقون "lonely (deserts) and met."

¹⁰ + التي فيها العيون والانهار "in which there are wells and rivers." (Br. om. والانهار).

¹¹ Br. خطر "presents himself."

¹² إن ذكره ذاكرون معاً في أقصى الشرق "if the people call him simultaneously in the extreme East, etc." أقصى added to each direction.

¹³ Om.

in thousand different places in the same instant? (Yet) we met several people¹ who held this belief, among them [Muhammed b. ‘Abdallah b. Salâm al-Anṣarî]² known as Shuḥḥ al-Leil, traditionist³ in Talabîra, who *in spite of it⁴ belongs to the influential circles and masters* a great amount of traditions;⁵ among them also the Kâtib Muhammed b. ‘Abdallah, who told me that he *many times⁶ sat with al-Khadhir and conversed with him, and many others. (They believe) all this, despite their knowing the saying of Allah: “But (he is) the Apostle of Allah and the seal of the prophets,”⁷ and the words of the Apostle of Allah: “There is no prophet after me.”⁸ How then can a Muslim think it permissible⁹ to assume [after this that]¹⁰ there is a prophet on earth after Muhammed, with the exception, stipulated by the Apostle of Allah, of the miracles which, according to reliable tradition, are certain to take place in connexion with ‘Isa b. Maryam’s advent at the end of Time?

The heretics of [181] Baraġwâṭah expect *until this day¹¹ Ṣâliḥ b. Ṭarîf, who instituted for them their religion.¹²

*The *Kittî‘iyya*, of the Imâmitic Rawâfiḍ—they constitute the bulk of the Shi‘ites, and to them belong the dogmatists and thinkers as well as the large numbers (of the Shi‘ites)—all believe¹³ that Muhammed b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alî b. Muhammed *b. ‘Alî¹⁴ b. Mûsa b. Ja‘far [b. Muhammed]¹⁵ b. ‘Alî b. al-Ḥusein b.

¹ جماعة “a large number.”

² Ed. Y. om. Supplied from L. Br.

³ Om.

⁴ Om.

⁵ Only الرواية.

⁶ Om.

⁷ Koran XXXIII, 40.

⁸ L. gives a long marginal gloss, on which see Comm.

⁹ يستخير (Br. unp.) “ask,” which makes no sense.

¹⁰ بعد هذا ان Ed. Y. om. owing to homoioteleuton.

¹¹ Om.

¹² الى أن قطع الله آثارهم جملة في وقتنا هذا ولله الحمد

“Until Allah stamped out their vestiges altogether in our own time. Praise unto Allah!” See Comm.

¹³ Differently worded وقالت القطيعة كلها وهم من الامامية من

الرافضة اليوم وفيهم متكلموهم ونظاروهم وعمدتهم

—they now belong to the Imâmiyya of the Rawâfiḍ and among them are their dogmatists and thinkers as well as their center of gravity—believe.”

¹⁴ Om.

¹⁵ Ed. Y. om.

‘Alî b. Abî Tâlib is alive, that he never died nor will ever die until he will appear and fill the earth with justice as it is filled with iniquity. He is in their opinion the Mahdî, the Expected.¹ A section of them **maintains**² that *the birth of this one who (in reality) was never created took place³ in the year 260—*the year when his father died.⁴ Another section, however, maintains that he was born some time after his father’s death. Still another section maintains that he was, on the contrary, born during the lifetime of his father. They report this in the name of Hukeima,⁵ the daughter of Muhammed b. ‘Alî b. Mûsa.⁶ *(They also report) that she was present at his birth and heard him speak and recite the Koran the moment he fell out of the womb of his mother, and that his mother was Narjis and that she herself (Hukeima) was his nurse.⁷ The majority⁸ of them, however, say that his mother was Şakîl and a part of them say that his mother was Sausan. ⁹But all this is humbug,¹⁰ for the above-mentioned al-Ḥasan left no children,¹¹ neither male nor female. Such is the first folly¹² of the Shi‘ites and the key to

¹ المنتظر المهدي .

² Ed. misprint وبقول .

³ مولده “his birthdate (was).”

⁴ وهو عام موت الذي تذكره (تذكره L. , تذكره Br.) انه ابوه وهو آخر ائمتهم “This is the year of death of him whom (that section) mentions as being (Br. whom we deny to be) his father. He is the last of their Imâms.”

⁵ ورووا في ذلك خرافة “they report about this a silly story.”—Instead of عن حكيمة there is a blank both in L. and Br.

⁶ + أخت علي وعمّة الحسن المذكور “the sister of ‘Alî and the aunt of the above-mentioned al-Ḥasan.”

⁷ وذكرت انها كانت قابلته وانها سمعته حين ولد تتكلم وقرأ وانها كانت هي .—Ed. Y. آيات من القرآن وان امه نرجس . وانها هي كانت .

⁸ طائفة “a part.”

⁹ + Says Abû Muhammed.

¹⁰ كذب موضوع “fabricated lie.”

¹¹ اصلاً “at all.”

¹² قول “belief.”

their grave errors¹ of which this one is the least grave, though (sufficient) to lead to perdition.

All these,² **when**³ asked to prove what they say, reply : Our proof is Inspiration, and he who contradicts us is of illegitimate birth. "This is **strange**⁴ indeed ! I wish I knew the difference between them and the **opposite attitude**⁵ of those who claim Inspiration while proving the absurdity of their assumptions and (maintaining) that the Shi'ites⁶ are of illegitimate birth⁷, or that they are idiots⁸, or that they all have forking projections⁹ on their heads. *What would they say of one who had belonged to them but then went over to the others, or one who had belonged to the others and then went over to them ? Do you believe that he is transferred¹¹ from an illegitimate birth

¹ عجائبهم which evidently stands for عجائبهم "their curiosities."

² ومن عجائبهم (sic) انهم . . . الحجّة في ذلك كله قالوا .

³ Ed. and Codd. اذ "since." Read إذا .

⁴ + Says Abû Muhammed.

⁵ Ed. and Codd. طريقا . I read طريقا "strange" (Lane).

⁶ Ed. Y. عيار from عير III "to equalize, adjust," which conveys no proper sense. L. عباد (Br. uncertain). I read عناد from عند III "to oppose, contradict."

⁷ الرافضة .

⁸ Ed. رشدة .—Read لرشدة as in Br. Y.—L. الرشدة .

⁹ Ed. ذوكة which is perhaps to be read ذوكي, comp. p. 46, note⁷. Instead of ذوكة او انهم ذوكة the Codices have كلهم اولهم عن

آخرهم ينكون في خارجهم "and that all of them, from the first to the last, ineunt mulieres in latrinis suis." Ed. no doubt intentionally omitted.

¹⁰ Ed. من جنون .—ذو شعب L. Br. وذو شعبة من جنون ; "of madness," om. in all Codices and is most probably a gloss. See Comm.

¹¹ Differently worded ثم نقول لكم ما قولكم فيمن كان منكم ثم خرج عن دينكم وصار في سائر فرق المسلمين او فيمن كان مخالفا لكم ثم دخل في دينكم اتراهما ينتقلان .

to a legitimate one or from a legitimate birth to an illegitimate one? Should they say: his case¹ depends on his condition at his death, then one² ought to reply to them: (If so), then perhaps *you*³ are of illegitimate birth, since it is not impossible that you will all one by one return to the reverse of what you believe today. Surely, they all are-people of foul opinions, of weak minds and of no shame.⁴ Let us seek refuge in Allah *from Error.*⁵

‘Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ—one of those frivolous men who are mastered by the desire for a joke, and one of those who lead into error,⁶ yet one, as we found, who in his books never sets forth a lie deliberately and assertively, though he often enough sets forth the lies of others—(al-Jāḥiẓ) narrates the following: Abū Ishāḥ Ibrāhīm⁷ an-Nazzām and Bishr b. Khālid⁸ told me that they once said to Muhammed b. Ja‘far the Rāfiḍite, known as Sheitān aṭ-Ṭāḡ: * “Woe unto thee!⁹ Art thou not ashamed *before Allah¹⁰ of what thou hast asserted in thy book on “the Imāmate” that Allah never said in the Koran: ‘The second of two: when they were both in the cave, when he said unto his companion: Be not grieved, for Allah is with us!’¹¹” They both continue to narrate: “By Allah, Sheitān aṭ-Ṭāḡ thereupon

¹ انما + “surely.”

² قلنا “we.”

³ كلکم + “all.”

⁴ بالجملة + “whatever.”

⁵ مِمَّا ابْتَلَاهُمْ بِهِ “from that with which he tempted them.”

⁶ Ed. misprint المضللين instead of the reverse.—Y. + قال “Allah says: Walk not proudly in the land” (Koran XVII, 39). This is evidently the gloss of a reader.

⁷ Om.

⁸ وهو ايضا من وجوه المعتزلة “he also was one of the leaders of the Mu‘tazilites.”

⁹ Om.

¹⁰ اما اتقيت الله عز وجل “doest thou not fear Allah?”

¹¹ Koran IX, 40.

broke forth into a¹ long laughter so that² (we felt) as had *we* been the evildoers." An-Nazzâm narrates: "We often spoke with³ 'Alî b. Mîtam' as-Sâbûnî (the soapboiler)—he was one of the doctors of the Rawâfiḍ and one of their dogmatists—and we would occasionally ask him [for some information, which he would give us. When we asked him]:⁴ 'Is it (i. e., your information) an opinion (of your own) or an oral information⁵ (coming) from the Imâms?' he would deny that he gave it of his own opinion. We then reminded him⁶ of what he had said about the same thing on a previous [182] occasion." He (an-Nazzâm) continues: "By Allah, I never saw him blush for it or feel ashamed of having done it."

One of the tenets of the Imâmîtes—both ancient and modern—is that the Koran was interpolated by adding passages that were not in it, by removing a great number (of verses) from it and altering a great number (of verses) in it. The only exception is 'Alî b. al-Ḥusein⁷ b. Mûsa *b. Muhammed⁸ b. Ibrâhîm b. Mûsa b. Ja'far b. Muhammed b. 'Alî b. al-Ḥusein¹¹ b. 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib, who was¹² an Imâmîte, yet at the same time openly declared his schism (in this question). He always denied this belief *and declared those who entertained it apostates.¹³ Of the same opinion (with him) were his two followers Abû Ya'la¹⁴

¹ عَائِراً "sudden, unexpected." Originally said of an arrow of which the shooter is not known. See Lane s.v.

² خَجَلْنَا نَحْنُ وَكَانُوا "we had to blush and."

³ كَانَ يَكْتَلِمُنَا "('Alî b. Mîtam) often spoke with us."

⁴ Ed. Y. مَتَّبِعٌ, Br. مَتَّبِعٌ, L. unp.—See Comm.

⁵ Ed. Y. om. مَسْئَلَةٌ فِي جَيْبٍ فَتَسْأَلُهُ owing to homoioteleuton.

⁶ رَوَايَةً "oral tradition." ⁷ Sing.

⁸ Ed. misprint فَتَكْثِرُهُ.

⁹ Ed. Y. al-Ḥasan.

¹⁰ Om.

¹¹ Ed. Y. al-Ḥasan.

¹² مِنْ رُؤَسَاءِ الْإِمَامِيَّةِ وَتَكَلِّمِيهِمْ وَكَانَ مَعَ ذَلِكَ يَظَاهِرُ وَيُجَاهِرُ بِالْإِعْتِرَافِ "one of the heads of the Imâmîtes and one of their dogmatists. Yet, at the same time he openly and publicly declared his schism."

¹³ Only وَيَكْفُرُ بِهِ which is probably a mistake for قَالَ بِهِ وَيَكْفُرُ بِهِ.

¹⁴ Ed. Y. L. يَعْلَى.—Br. عَلِي is probably a correction.

The same Hishâm, when once arguing with Abû'l-Hudeil al-'Allâf,¹ declared that² his Lord was seven spans (measured) by his own spans:—this is pure apostasy.³ Dâwud al-Hawârî⁴—one of their greatest dogmatists, asserted that his Lord was flesh and blood (and) of human shape.

They unanimously hold that the sun was turned back twice for 'Alî. Is there more stiffness of face⁵, hardness of cheek,⁶ lack of shame⁷ and courage *to lie?⁸ (And all this) despite the nearness of age⁹ and the multitude of people.

¹⁰A section of them maintains that God sometimes wants a thing and decides upon it; then something occurs to him and he leaves it undone. This view is known as that of the Keisâniyya.

¹¹Among the Imâmîtes there are some who permit *to marry¹² nine wives. Others forbid¹³ cabbage¹⁴, on the ground that it only grew from the blood of al-Husein, and had never existed before.

¹⁵This assertion resembles in its small amount¹⁶ of shame the previous one. *In the same way¹⁷ many of them asserted that 'Alî *never had a namesake before him.¹⁸ But this is frightful ignorance. On the contrary, there were *many among the Arabs¹⁹

¹ + "in Mekka."

² + طول "the length of."

³ + استهزاء بالله عز وجل "because it means ridiculing God."

⁴ Ed. الجوارى ; Codd. الجوارى .

⁵ Plural.

⁶ Plural.

⁷ الحياة "life," which makes no sense.

⁸ على البهاهة لجميع اهل الارض بالكذب "to stupefy all the people of the earth with lies."

⁹ ممن كان في ذلك العصر "to those who lived in that generation."

—L. Br. om. وكثرة الخلق.

¹⁰ L. Br. om. the whole paragraph.

¹¹ + "Says Abû Muhammed."

¹² Om.

¹³ + أكل "the eating of."

¹⁴ Erroneously الارنب "hare."

¹⁵ + Says Abû Muhammed.

¹⁶ عدم "lack" (of shame).

¹⁷ Om.

¹⁸ لم يُسم هذا الاسم احدا (sic) قبله.

¹⁹ جماعة في الجاهلية "a large number at the time of Ignorance."

who were called by this name, like 'Alî b. Bekr b. Wâ'il, to whom every Bekrite in the world traces his origin.¹ *There was an 'Alî among the Azd and an 'Alî among the Bajîla as well as in other (tribes). Every one of these was well-known in the time of Ignorance.² Nearer than³ this was 'Âmir b. at-Tufeil with the Kunya Abû 'Alî.

Their public assertions⁴ are, however, more numerous than those mentioned.

There is a section among them maintaining that Paradise and Hell will decay. On the other hand, there are some among the Keisâniyya who maintain that this world⁵ will never decay.

There was one section among them called al-Bajaliyya⁶ [183] tracing its origin to *al-Ḥasan b.⁷ 'Alî b. Warṣand al-Bajalî.⁸ He belonged to the people of Naḩṩa,⁹ of the district of Ḩafṣa¹⁰ in Ḩastilia,¹¹ of the lands of Ifriḩiya. Then this infidel started for as-Sûs at the extreme end of the lands of the Maṣâmidâ, whom he led astray, also leading astray the Amîr of as-Sûs Aḩmad b. Idrîs b. Yahya b. Idrîs b. 'Abdallah b. al-Ḩasan¹² b. al-Ḩasan¹³ b. 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib. They are very numerous

¹ Om. حاشى بنى يشكر بن بكر فقط + . فى نسبة . See Comm.

² L. Br. instead : وعلى بن جسر بن محارب بن خصفة . (Codd. حفصة) بن قيس بن عيلان بن مضر وعلى بن مسعود ابن مازن بن ذئب كان اخا عبد مناة من كنانة وحسن ولد اخيه فنسبوا اليه وكانوا يعرفون فى الجاهلية بنى على وفى بحيلة ايضا وغيرها . See Comm.

³ Om. من : "the nearest."

⁴ ومجاهرات الرافضة "the publ. ass. of the Rawâfiḩ."

⁵ L. الجنة "Paradise."—Br. as Ed. الدنيا .

⁶ Ed. الكليلة , Y. الكليلة , L. الحبليلة , A. الكليلة , Br. الكليلة . See Comm.

⁷ Om.

⁸ Ed. النحلى , Y. البجلي ; L. Br. unp.

⁹ A. نقطة ; L. Br. unp.

¹⁰ Br. بعصة .

¹¹ Om. Ed. Y. وقسطيلية .—I read قفصة قسطيلية "Ḩafṣa in Ḩ." .

¹² Ed. Y. al-Ḩusein.

¹³ L. Br. al-Ḩusein.

there, dwelling in the environments of the city of as-Sûs, openly professing their unbelief. Their prayers are different from those of the Muslims. They eat no fruit whatever whose root has been manured. They maintain that the Imâmate is confined to the descendants of al-Ḥasan, *to the exclusion of the descendants of al-Ḥusein.¹

To them also belonged the followers of *Abû Kâmil*. One of their beliefs was that all the Companions became apostates after the death of the Prophet by disclaiming the Imâmate of 'Alî, and that the latter, too, became an apostate by conceding the rule first to Abû Bekr, then to 'Omar, then to 'Othmân. The bulk of them, however, add that 'Alî and those that followed him returned to Islam, having asserted his rights *after the death of 'Othmân², by uncovering³ his face and unsheathing⁴ his sword, while before this they had drifted away from Islam and had become apostates and polytheists. Among them there were also some who put the whole blame in this matter on the Prophet, because he did not explain the question in a manner removing all doubt. Says Abû Muhammed: All this is pure apostasy and no hiding of it is possible.

These are the doctrines⁵ of the Imâmîtes, who among the sects of the Shi'a are *moderate as regards⁶ "Extremism."

III. As to the *Extremists* among the Shi'ites, they are divided into two parties: 1. one attributing prophecy after the Prophet to some other person,⁷ 2. the other attributing divinity to anyone beside Allah, thus joining the Christians and the Jews⁸ and betraying religion in a most detestable manner.

¹ Merely *خاصّة* "alone" + *ياسين بن عبد الله* "We have now been told that 'Abdallah b. Yâsîn al-Muṭṭawwi' (the Devout, see Lane and Dozy s.v.)—Allah have mercy on him—destroyed them completely."

² Om. *وانكشف* instead of *كشف*.

³ *سيل*, which makes no sense.

⁴ *شنع* "the depravities."

⁵ *المتأخرة عن* "keeping back from."

⁶ Om. *لغيره*; *فخرجوا عن الاسلام* + "thus deserting Islam."

⁷ Instead of "the Jews"; *وسائر الكفار* "and the rest of the Infidels."

1. The party which admits *prophecy* after the Prophet is divided into various sects.

To these belonged the *Gurābiyya*.¹ Their opinion was that Muhammed resembled 'Alī more closely than one raven the other and that Allah had dispatched Jibrīl with a revelation² to 'Alī, but Jibrīl mistook Muhammed for him.³ Yet⁴ Jibrīl is not to be blamed as he (only) made a mistake.⁵ There was, however, a section among them who said that Jibrīl did it purposely and they declared him an apostate and cursed him, may Allah curse them!—Says Abū Muhammed: Did anyone ever hear of more weak-minded people and more finished idiots than these here⁶ who assume that Muhammed resembled 'Alī? For Heaven's sake! *How could there exist a resemblance between a man of forty and a boy of eleven years, so that Jibrīl should have mistaken him?⁷ Besides, Muhammed was⁸ above middle-size (tending) towards tallness,⁹ erect¹⁰ like a spear, with a thick beard, **big black**¹¹ eyes, full thighs, with little hair on his body, but rich

¹ L. الغانية , Br. العانية .

² + والرسالة "and a message."

³ Instead of فأتى الى محمد more explicitly فأتى الى محمد بمحمد "and he came to M."

⁴ ثم اختلفوا فقالت فرقة + "then they disagreed and a section of them said"; this is probably the correct reading.

⁵ لشدة شبه (تشبه Br.) محمد وعلي + "by reason of the strong resemblance between Muhammed and 'Alī."

⁶ قوم قولهم Erroneously قولهم instead of قوم.

كيف يشبه شبها يغلط فيه أتم الناس كلها ابن أربعين سنة صبيّا ابن عشر سنين فكيف ان يغلط في ذلك افضل خلق الله "How could a man of forty bear so strong a resemblance to a boy of *ten* that the most perfect of all men should err therein? How much less could err in such a thing the most excellent of Allah's creatures and the most perfect of them, as regards discrimination and virtue!"—"The most perfect of all men," which can only refer to the Prophet, does not convey a proper sense in this connection.

⁸ حينئذ "then."

⁹ (الى الطول) أقرب "nearer" (to tallness).

¹⁰ L. مدم , Br. مدم .

¹¹ Ed. Y. ادعج without sense.—L. Br. ادعج as translated.

curls.¹ 'Alî on the contrary was² below middle size, (tending) towards shortness,³ stooping frightfully, as though he had been broken and then reset, *with a mighty beard which covered his chest⁴ from one shoulderbone to the other, *when he had become bearded,⁵ with heavy eyes,⁶ with thin thighs, [184] mightily⁷ bald, with no hair on his head *except a tiny bit in the back of it,⁸ but with much hair on his **body**.⁹ Marvel at the silliness¹⁰ of this pack.¹¹ For even granted that Jibrîl made a mistake—though far be it from the faithful¹² Holy Spirit¹³,—how could Allah have neglected *to rectify and¹⁴ to enlighten him and (how could he) have allowed him to abide¹⁵ by his mistake twenty-three years?¹⁶ But even more **strange**¹⁷ than all this: who could have told them this story and who could have imposed upon them this¹⁸ fable, since this can only be known to one who was present when Allah gave the order to Jibrîl and then was present at his disobeying it? Upon them the curse of Allah, the curse of those who

¹ وافر الحية + "with a rich beard."

² حينئذ صبى امرء ثم اذ كبر كان + "then a beardless boy. When he had grown up, he was."

³ اقرب + (الى القصير) "nearer" (to shortness).

⁴ مفرط سعة الحية + "with an exceedingly rich beard."

⁵ Om. ⁶ كبيرهما + "both big." ⁷ مفرط + "exceedingly."

⁸ إلا صوف صيف في قفاه + "except a tuft on his occiput." Lit., "a tuft which was tufted." I owe this explanation to Professor Torrey.

⁹ Ed. Y. الحية "beard," which makes no sense.—L. Br. الجسد "body."

¹⁰ لإفراط + "at the exaggeration." ¹¹ الطائفة "party."

¹² Om. ¹³ من ذلك +.

¹⁴ Om. ¹⁵ فتمادي + (فتركه).

¹⁶ إن في حُمقهم لعبرة لمن أعتبر + "Verily, in their stupidity there is a warning for those who accept a warning!"

¹⁷ Ed. اظرف. I read اطرف. See p. 49, n. 5.

¹⁸ الخرافة (السخيفة) + "vile."

curse¹, and the curse of the whole of mankind² so long as human beings will last before Allah in his world !

One section believed in the prophecy of 'Alî.³ Another section believed that 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusein,⁴ 'Alî b. al-Ḥusein⁵, Muhammed b. 'Alî, Ja'far b. Muhammed,⁶ Mûsa b. Ja'far, 'Alî b. Mûsa, Muhammed b. 'Alî, ['Alî b. Muhammed],⁷ al-Ḥasan b. 'Alî⁸ and the Expected,⁹ the son of al-Ḥasan, were all prophets.¹⁰ Another section believed in the prophecy of Muhammed b. Ismâ'il b. Ja'far only. This is the party of the *Karmatians*. Another section believed only in the prophecy of 'Alî and his three sons: al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusein and Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya. This is the party of¹¹ the *Keisâniyya*. Al-Mukhtâr¹² was constantly attempting¹³ to claim prophecy for himself: he spoke in rhymes¹⁴ and warned them against turning aside from Allah, several groups¹⁵ of the cursed Shi'ites following him in¹⁶ this belief. He¹⁷ advocated the Imâmate of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya.

¹ Cf. Koran II, 154; L. Br. + الملائكة "and of the angels."

² The following om.

³ + بن ابى طالب وحده "b. Abî Tâlib alone."

⁴ Ed. Y. + رضهم.

⁵ L. om. 'Alî b. al-Ḥusein through homoioteleuton.

⁶ + رضى.

⁷ Ed. and Codd. om. See Comm.

⁸ Ed. and Codd. Muhammed. See Comm.

⁹ + وهو محمد "i. e. Muhammed."

¹⁰ + رسل الله تعالى "Apostles of Allah."

¹¹ Instead of طائفتان erroneously طائفة من.

¹² + لعنه الله (Br. only لعنه) "Allah curse him!"

¹³ Ed. correctly حام; Y. جوم, see Dozy s.v. Lit.: "turning around."
L. Br. حرم.

¹⁴ L. erroneously شجع اشجاعا.

¹⁵ طائفة "a group."

¹⁶ + تصديق "holding true."

¹⁷ + مع ذلك "at the same time."

One section believed in the prophecy of *al-Muġîra b. Sa'îd*, a client of the Banû Bajîla in Kûfa, the same whom Khâlid b. 'Abdallah al-Kasrî burned at the stake. This Muġîra—may Allah curse him!—used to maintain that *the object of his worship¹ had the shape of a man with a crown on his head and that his limbs were according to the number of the letters of the alphabet, the Alif, for instance, corresponding with the thighs, *and similar things, for which no tongue of one who belongs to any branch of religion will ever loosen itself.² Allah is mightily exalted above the assumptions of the Unbelievers! He—Allah curse him!—also maintained that *the object of his worship,³ when intending to create the world,⁴ uttered his Greatest Name which⁵ fell down on his crown. Then he wrote down with his finger [on his palm]⁶ the actions of men, both the good and the bad ones. But when he beheld the bad actions, sweat trickled down from him on account of it.⁷ From this sweat two lakes were gathered: one salty and dark, the other light and sweet. Then he looked into the lake and beheld **his shadow**.⁸ *He started to catch it,⁹ but it flew away. *At last he caught it.¹⁰ He plucked out the eyes¹¹ of his shadow and, grinding them, created out of them the sun¹² and another sun. He created the Infidels out of the salty lake and the Faithful out of the sweet lake, with an ample mixture of both. One of his beliefs also

¹ رَبِّهِ "his Lord." See Comm.

² وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ مَا لَا يَنْطَلِقُ لَنَا لِسَانٌ بِحِكَايَتِهِ أَصْلًا "and besides this (things) which to record no tongue will loosen itself for us in any way."

³ رَبِّهِ "his Lord."

⁴ Ed. Y. اَلْخَلْقُ, lit. "the creation." L. Br. الْجَنَّةُ "Paradise."

⁵ فطَارَ "flew and."

⁶ L. Br. + عَلَى كَفِّهِ; Ed. Y. om. ⁷ Om. بِهِ.

⁸ Ed. ظِلْمَةٌ "darkness." Y. ظِلْمِهِ, L. Br. (and Ed. next line) correctly ظِلُّهُ.

⁹ Br. om., apparently through oversight.

¹⁰ فَادْرَكَهَ فَاخَذَهُ.

¹¹ Incorrectly عَيْنَيْنِ.

¹² + وَالْقَمَرُ "and the moon." See Comm.

was that the prophets never differed in anything concerning the religious laws. It has been assumed that Jâbir b. Yazîd al-Ju'fi, the same who received traditions from ash-Shu'bî, was the successor of al-Muġîra b. Sa'id,¹ when Khâlid *b. 'Abdallah al-Ķasrî² had burned him. When Jâbir died, he was succeeded³ by Bekr al-A'war (the Blind) al-Hijrî, and when he (too) died, they transferred the leadership to 'Abdallah, the son of al-Muġîra, their above-mentioned head.⁴ They existed in Kûfa in compact numbers. The last opinions at which al-Muġîra b. Sa'id arrived were his belief in the Imâmâte of Muhammed b. [185] 'Abdallah b. al-Ĥasan b. al-Ĥasan⁵ and the prohibition of the water of the Euphrates and of any⁶ river, well⁷ or cistern, into which anything unclean has fallen. Under these circumstances those who advocated⁸ the Imâmâte of the descendants of al-Ĥusein⁹ held themselves aloof from him.

One section believed in the prophecy of *Bayân b. Sam'ân*, Tamîmite by descent. Khâlid b. 'Abdallah al-Ķasrî burned him together with al-Muġîra b. Sa'id on the same day. Al-Muġîra b. Sa'id shrank in a most cowardly manner from clasping the bundle of wood,¹⁰ so that he had to be tied to it by force. Bayân b. Sam'ân, on the contrary, ran to the bundle and clasped it without flinching and without showing any sign of fear. Then Khâlid said to both their followers: "In everything, indeed, you behave like lunatics. This one ought to have been your¹¹ head, not that

¹ على أصحابه "over his companions."

² Om.

³ فيهم "among them."

⁴ Om. رئيسهم.

⁵ Ed. and Codd. al-Ĥusein.—L. Br. + يومئذ (Br. ويحمد) وهو حي

"who then was alive, a youth of a little over twenty. Al-Muġîra advocated the prohibition."

⁶ Ed. Y. + ماء "water of." It is most probably a repetition of the word before.

⁷ Om. او عين.

⁸ فتبرئ منه كل من يقول.

⁹ Al-Ĥasan.

¹⁰ وجزع جزعًا مفرطًا + القصب "reed."— "and was exceedingly terrified."

¹¹ رئيسهم "their."

fool.¹ Bayân b. Sam‘ân, Allah² curse him, maintained that God would entirely decay, excepting only his countenance. This lunatic actually thought that he was supported in this his heresy by the saying of Allah: “Every creation that is on it is subject to decay, and remain will only the countenance of your Lord.”³ But had he only possessed an ounce of reason or understanding, then he would have known that Allah’s statement about decay only refers to the things on earth, *in agreement with the text of the truthful saying:⁴ “Every creation that is on it is subject to decay.” But Allah does not attribute decay to *that which is not on earth.⁵ Allah’s countenance is surely Allah,⁶ not a thing different from him.⁷ *Far be it from Allah that division and fraction should be attributed to him.⁸ This is only the attribute of the created, limited beings, but not the attribute of one who is not⁹ limited¹⁰ and has no equal.¹¹ He—Allah curse him!—also maintained that it was he¹² who was meant by the saying of Allah: “This is an illustration (bayân) for mankind.”¹³ *He also adhered to the doctrine¹⁴ that the Imâm was [Abû]¹⁵ Hâshim ‘Abdallah b. Muhammed *b. al-Ḥanafīyya¹⁶ and that then it (the Imâmate) passed over to all the other descendants of ‘Alī.¹⁷

¹ L. الفشل (Br. المفضل) “coward.”

² L. om.

³ + والإكرام “glorious and honorable.”—Koran LV, 26-27.

⁴ لقوله عز وجل في الآية المذكورة.

⁵ غير ذلك. ⁶ نفسه + “himself.”

⁷ + عَصَا “nor an organ, or a limb.”

⁸ تعالى (عن + Br.) ان يوصف بالتبعيض والإجزاء.

⁹ Y. om.

¹⁰ L. خفي, Br. تخفى “concealed”?

¹¹ + كَفَوْ “and no match.” ¹² هو +.

¹³ + وَهُدًى “and guidance.”—Koran III, 132.

¹⁴ وكان يقول.

¹⁵ Ed. Y. om.

¹⁶ b. ‘Alī b. A. T.

¹⁷ + من صلح لها منهم “those of them who were fit for it.”

A section of them believed in the prophecy of [Abū]¹ *Manṣūr al-Mustanīr*² al-‘Ijlī (of the Banū ‘Ijl)³, the same whose nickname was “al-Kisf”⁴ (the Fragment). He claimed⁵ that he was meant by the saying of Allah: “If they should see a fragment of the heaven falling down.”⁶ He was crucified by Yūsuf b. ‘Omar in Kūfa. He also—Allah’ curse him!—pretended that he was lifted up to heaven and that Allah, patting him on his head with his hand, said to him: “Go forth, [o] my child,⁸ and deliver (a message) from me.”⁹ The oath of his followers was: “No, by the Word!” He also—Allah curse him!—maintained that the first beings¹⁰ created by Allah were ‘Īsa b. Maryam and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He held the belief in the uninterrupted succession of apostles. He permitted forbidden things, viz. adultery, wine, (the eating of) dead animals,¹¹ swine and blood, maintaining that they were nothing but proper names of men,—the bulk of the Rawāfiḍ are still of the same opinion to-day. He abolished the obligatory prayers, alms, fasts¹² and pilgrimage. His followers were all stranglers and skull breakers, just as were the followers of al-Muḡīra b. Sa‘īd. Their reason for this was that they did not permit the use of arms before he whom they expected would come forth. They consequently killed the people only by means of strangling and breaking the skull,

¹ Ed. Y. om.

² Ed. المستير .

³ L. + صلته ; Br. صليبه = صليبة or صليبت by (his) descent.

⁴ Br. بالكشف .

⁵ Ed. erroneously يقال instead of يقول .

⁶ + يقولوا سحاب موكوم “they would say: it is a thick cloud.”—

Koran LII, 44.

⁷ Br. om.

⁸ يا بُنَيَّ , probably more correct than Ed. Y. ابني .

⁹ Cf. Koran V, 71.

¹⁰ Ed. Y. مَن ; L. Br. ما “things.”

¹¹ + ولحم “the meat of.”

¹² Sing.

while the *Khashabiyya* confined themselves to wooden arms.¹ Hishâm b. al-Hakam the Râfîdite² in his book, known under the title “al-Mizân” (the Balance),—he knew them better than anyone else, because he was their neighbor in Kûfa and their *associate in doctrine³—mentions that the *Kisfiyya* particularly⁴ kill *both their adherents⁵ and opponents saying: “We (only) hurry⁶ the Faithful to Paradise and⁷ the Infidels to Hell.” After the death of *Abû Manşûr⁸ they used to deliver a fifth of the goods taken away from those [186] they killed by strangling [or breaking their skulls]⁹ to al-Husein,¹⁰ the son of Abû Manşûr.

¹ The last two sentences more explicit in L. Br. ومعناهم في اقتصارهم

على الخنق (الحق. Br. err.) والرضخ واقتصار الكيسانية على القتال بالخشب فقط انهم لا يستحلون حمل شيء من السلاح الحديد أصلاً ولو قتلوا حتى يخرج الذي ينتظرونه فحينئذ يحملون السلاح فهم انما يقتلون بالخنق والرضخ بالحجارة وبالخشب فقط “The reason for their confining themselves to strangling and skull breaking and the *Keisâniyya* confining themselves to fighting with wooden arms only, is that they do not allow to carry any iron weapon whatsoever, even if they be killed, until he whom they expect will come forth, when they will again carry arms. They therefore kill only by means of strangling and breaking the skull with stones and wooden arms.”

² الرافض.

³ Ed. Y. وشقيقهم في دعوى الشيعة.—L. Br. وجارهم في المذهب “and their twinbrother as regards the pretensions of the Shi'ites.”

⁴ + وهم المنصورية “they are the Manşûriyya.”

⁵ “every one whom they are able to kill, (both those belonging) to them.”

⁶ “it is necessary that we should hurry.”

⁷ “and that we should hurry.”

⁸ Y. al-Manşûr.—L. Br. + لعنه “(Allah) curse him!”

⁹ او رضخوة om. in Ed. Y.

¹⁰ Ed. Y. al-Hasan.

His followers were divided into two sections:¹ one maintaining that after² Muhammed b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusein³ the Imāmate⁴ passed over to Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan;⁵ the other maintaining (that it passed over) to *Abū Mansur⁶ al-Kisf and would never return to the descendants of 'Alī.

One section⁷ believed in the prophecy of *Bazīj*,⁸ the weaver, in Kūfa. That this claim (to prophecy) should have been raised⁹ by them in favor of a weaver is **strange**¹⁰ indeed! *Another section believed in the prophecy of *Mu'ammār*, the corndealer, in Kūfa.¹¹ Another section believed in the prophecy of 'Omeir at-Ṭabbān¹² (the strawdealer) in Kufa. He was—Allah¹³ curse him—in the habit of saying to his followers: "If I wanted to turn this straw into pure gold, I could do it." He presented himself before Khālid¹⁴ b. 'Abdallah al-Kasrī and courageously¹⁵

وافترقت المنصورية فرقتين احدهما قالت . . . والفرقة¹ الأخرى.

² موت "the death of."

³ Ed. Y. al-Ḥasan.

⁴ Ed. Y. erroneously الامام instead of الامامة.

⁵ Ed. al-Ḥusein.

⁶ L. Br. al-M.; Ed. Y. Abū al-M.

⁷ + "of the *Khattābiyya*."

⁸ L. برع الحابط; Br. برع الحانك.

⁹ Ed. Y. وقع.—L. Br. تكشف = بكسف "revealed itself."

¹⁰ Ed. لطيفة; Br. الطريقة, L. لطرفة; Y. لطيفة.—طريف.
"strange" (Lane).—See p. 57, note 17.

¹¹ Only in Ed. and A. Y. om. L. Br. instead وقالت طائفة اخرى
"another group of the *Khattābiyya* believed in the prophecy of Sarī al-Aḥṣam in Kufa." See Comm.

¹² البتان.

¹³ Om.

¹⁴ + b. al-Walid, apparently owing to a confusion with Khālid b. al-Walid, "the sword of Allah," the famous general under the first caliphs.

¹⁵ Om. فتجلد.

denounced him. Khâlid then gave orders to execute him and he was killed, in addition to the curse of Allah.¹ *These five sects all belong to the sects of the Khaṭṭâbiyya.²

A section of (our) ancients,³ the partisans of the Abbasides, believed in the prophecy of 'Ammâr, *with the nickname *Khidâsh*.⁴ Asad b. 'Abdallah, the brother of Khâlid b. 'Abdallah *al-Kasrî,⁵ got hold of him and killed him, in addition to the curse of Allah.⁶

2. The second party among the sects of the Extremists is that which attributes *divinity* to anyone beside Allah.

The first of them were certain people among the adherents of 'Abdallah b. Sabâ the Himyarite, may Allah curse him!⁷ They came to 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib and said⁸ in his face: "Thou

¹ وَيَسَّ الْبِهَادُ + "and an unhappy couch shall it be." Koran II, 202.

² "all these" وكان هؤلاء كلهم من اصحاب ابى الخطاب لعنه الله "all these belong to the followers of Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb, Allah curse him!—L. Br. + وَمِنْ أَتَّبِعَ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى دَعْوَاهُ النُّبُوَّةَ الْفَاسِقُ الْقَائِمُ فِي بَنِي الْعَلِيِّصَ بْنَ صَمُصَمَ بْنَ عَدَّى بْنِ جَنَابٍ (حَبَابَ ل.) مِنْ كَلْبِ الَّذِي أُحْرِقَ (أَخْرَفَ ل.) فِي وَتَعْتَهُ مِنْ طُغْجٍ (Codd. unp.) وصاحب الرَنْجِ الْقَائِمِ بِالْبَصْرَةِ لعنه الله وكلاهما ادعى انه علوي وهما "Among those who imitated his example in claiming prophecy was the scoundrel who arose among the Banû 'l-'Uleis b. Dammam b. 'Adî b. Janâb of the Keib (and) who was burned in his battle with (?) Tugj, also the leader of the Zenj who rose in Kûfa,—Allah curse him! They both pretended to be 'Alides and they were both liars in this claim." See Comm.

³ L. Br. الْأَوَّل "the ancients."—Ed. Y. أُولَئِكَ "those," does not seem to convey a proper meaning.

⁴ المكنى بابي خراش "with the Kunya Abû Khirâsh."

⁵ Om. here and add after "Asad b. 'Abdallah."—+ "in Khorâsân."

⁶ + عز وجل وغضبه "and his anger."

⁷ L. om. "Allah."—L. Br. + واليه تُنْسَبُ السَّبَائِيَّةُ "to whom the Sabâ'iyya trace their origin."

⁸ + له "to him."

art he!" He asked them "Who is he?" and they answered "Thou art Allah." 'Alī, however, took the matter very seriously and gave orders to kindle a fire and he burned them in it. While they were being thrown into the fire, they started shouting: "Now we feel certain that he is 'Allah. For none but Allah punishes by fire."² Regarding this (incident) he³ said:

[Rajaz] "When I saw that the matter became an illegal matter,

I kindled a fire and called *Ḳanbar*."

By *Ḳanbar* he refers to his slave, the same who was charged with throwing them* into the fire.⁴—Let us seek refuge in Allah from being led into temptation through a created being and a created being from being led into temptation through us, be it in a great or small (thing). For the temptation of Abū 'l-Ḥasan (i. e. 'Alī) in the midst of his followers is like the temptation of 'Īsā⁵ in the midst of his followers, the Apostles.

⁶This sect still subsists today, (nay), is even increasing and embraces large numbers. They are called the '*Ulyāniyya*.'⁷ One of them was Ishāk b. Muhammed an-Nakha'ī (of the Banū an-Nakha'), al-Aḥmar (the Red), of Kāfa, who was one of their dogmatists. He wrote a book on this subject under the title "as-Ṣirāt" (the Path). He was refuted⁸ by al-Bḥkī (?)⁹ and al-Fayyād *as regards (his views) mentioned above.¹⁰ *They maintain that Muhammed is the Apostle of 'Alī.

¹ Br. *انك انت*; L. *انك انت* "that thou art."

² + *تعالى الله عن كفرهم* "Allah is exalted above their unbelief."

³ *يقول على* "Alī."

⁴ Om.

⁵ Ed. Y. + *صلى الله عليه وسلم*, the formula otherwise used only after the mention of the Prophet.—L. Br. the same formula after "the Apostles."

⁶ + Says Abū Muhammed.

⁷ Br. *العلبانیه*. See Comm.

⁸ Ed. Y. *نقض عليه* (refuter, Dozy). L. *ببصة*, Br. *بقصة*, probably meant *نَقَضَ*.

⁹ Ed. Y. here and later *البهنكى*; Br. twice *البهتكى*, L. here *البهتكى*, later *البهتكى*. Mas'ūdī, *Murūjad-Dahab*, iii, 265 *النهكىنى*.

¹⁰ Om.—+ b. 'Alī.

A group of Shi'ites, known as the *Muḥammadiyya*, maintains¹ that Muhammad is Allah,—but Allah is exalted above their unbelief. To these belonged al-Bhnikî and al-Fayyâd * b. 'Alî.² The latter composed a book on this topic, which he called "al-Kustâs"³ (the Balance). His father was the well-known Kâtib, who first occupied this post under ' Abdallah b. Kandâj, when the latter was Wâli,⁴ then⁵ under the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mu'taḍid.⁶ It was with reference to him that al-Buḥturî composed the well-known⁷ poem, of which the beginning runs thus:

[Khafif] Far from the inhabitant⁸ of **Guweir**⁹ is
[his (present) place of visitation]¹⁰.
The (long) travels have emaciated him. But¹¹
[Allah is his patron].¹²

[187] The said al-Fayyâd,—Allah curse him!—was killed by al-Kâsim b. ' Abdallah¹³ b. Suleimân b. Wahb, because he was among those who denounced the latter in the days of al-Mu'taḍid. The story* is well known.

¹ In L. Br. corrupt probably owing to a homoioteleuton: ويقولون
أن من ضلالة (Br. صلاة) الشيعة أيضا يقولون أن حمدا
ويقولون أن [حمدا رسول على و] من ضلالة الشيعة
أيضا [أن] يقولون أن حمدا.

² Om.— + علي بن محمد بن علي بن الفياض وهو الفياض
الذي ذكرنا آنفاً. It is al-Fayyâd b. 'Alî b. Muhammed b.
al-Fayyâd."

³ Ed. Br. القسطاس; Y. القسطاص; L. القسطاطر (sic).

⁴ الجزيرة + "over Mesopotamia."

⁵ + كتب "he was Kâtib."

⁶ L. om.

⁷ Om.

⁸ L. Br. ساكني "inhabitants." Buḥturî, *Divân* (ed. Constantinople, 1300 H.) ii, 86 as Ed.

⁹ Ed. Y. L. الغريس.—Br. and Buḥturî as above.

¹⁰ Ed. Y. مرارة; L. Br. and Buḥturî مرارة (pronounce مَرَارَة).

¹¹ Ed. and Codd. ف; Buḥturî. ف.

¹² Ed. Y. حارة; L. Br. and Buḥturî جارة (= رجاء).

¹³ 'Ubeidallah.

Another section believed in the divinity of Adam and the prophets¹ after him, prophet after prophet, down to Muhammed, then in the divinity of 'Alî, then in the divinity of al-Ḥasan, then² al-Ḥusein, [then 'Alî b. al-Ḥusein];³ then Muhammed b. 'Alî, then Ja'far b. Muhammed, and here they stopped. The Khattâbiyya one day publicly proclaimed this belief in Kûfa, when 'Isa b. Mûsa b. Muhammed b. Alî b. 'Abdallah b. al-'Abbâs was Wâli.⁴ They came out in the middle of the day in large crowds, attired in belts and cloaks like pilgrims, and shouting at the top of their voices: "With thee, o Ja'far! with thee, o Ja'far!" Ibn 'Ayâsh and others say: "It is, as if I saw them (as they were) that day." 'Îsa b. Mûsa encountered them and they fought against him. But he killed them and exterminated them.

Then another section enlarged upon the above-mentioned doctrine and believed in the divinity of Muhammed b. Ismâ'il b. Ja'far b. Muhammed. These were the *Karmatians*. Among the latter were some who believed in the divinity of **Abû Sa'ûd al-Ḥasan b. Bahrâm al-Jannabî*⁵ and his sons after him. *Some of them believed in the divinity⁷ of *Abû 'l-Kâsim an-Najjâr*, who rose in Yemen in the lands of the Banû Hamdân and was called al-Manşûr.⁸

¹ المشهورة—النبیین L. Br. om. by oversight.

² Here and before each following name + بالاهية .

³ Ed. om.

⁴ + "of Kûfa."

⁵ + "Abû Bekr."

⁶ L. Br. (Br. الجبای) سعيد الحسن بن. Ed. Y. ابي سعيد الحسن بن. See Comm. بهرام الجبای

⁷ L. Br. instead وبالاهية كسر الاصفهاني "and in the divinity of Ksr (?) of Isfahân and in the divinity."

⁸ وكان يكتنم اسمه لعنه الله وقيل ان اسمه الحسين بن قرج +
بن حَوْشَب (خوشب. Codd.) وكان كوفي الدار وطائفة قالت
بالاهية على بن الفضل (المفضل) بن يزيد مولى بنى
زيد المنسوب الى ابي سُفَيان القائم بالجند وببلاد ذى مناخ
"باليمن وطائفة قالت بالاهية البوارى القائم بالسواد
He—Allah curse him!—used to conceal his name. They say, his name was al-Ḥusein
b. Faraj b. Ḥaushab. His residence was in Kûfa. Another group

Another section of them believed in the divinity of 'Ubeidallah, then of those of his descendants who ruled after him until this day.

One group believed in the divinity of *Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb* Muhammed b. Abî Zeinab, a client of the Banû Asad in Kûfa. Their number grew so large that it exceeded the thousands. They said: "he¹ is a god, and Ja'far b. Muhammed is a god. But Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb is greater than the other." They used to say²: "all the descendants of al-Ḥasan [and al-Ḥusein]³ are the sons and favorites⁴ of Allah." They believed that they would not die, but would be lifted up to heaven. The Sheikh whom you see (now), affected the likeness with this one before the people.⁵

Then one group of them believed in the divinity of *Mu'ammâr*, a corndealer in Kûfa, whom they worshipped. *He was one of the followers of Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb, may Allah curse them all!⁶

Another group believed in the divinity of *al-Ḥusein*⁷ b. Maṣṣûr [*al-Ḥallâj*]⁸, a dresser of cotton, who was crucified in Bagdad through the efforts of the Vizier 'Hâmid b. al-'Abbâs,—may Allah have mercy on him!—in the days of al-Mukṭadir.

Another group believed in the divinity of Muhammed b. 'Alî b. *ash-Shalmagân*,¹⁰ the Kâtib,¹¹ who was killed in Bagdad in

believed in the divinity of 'Alî b. al-Faḍl b. Yazîd, a client of the Banû Ziyâd, who traced his genealogy to Abû Sufyân, who rose in Janad and in the lands of the Du-Manâkh in Yemen. Another group believed in the divinity of al-Bawârî, who rose in Sawâd."

¹ هذا "this one."

² + أن "that."

³ Ed. and Codd. om. See Comm.

⁴ Om. وأحبّاءه.

⁵ تشبّه (Br. يشبه, L. unp.) الشيخ (Br. بهذا) على الناس بذلك

المفتون "the mad Sheikh."—The translation of this phrase is not certain. See Comm.

⁶ Om.

⁷ Ed. Y. al-Ḥasan.

⁸ Ed. Y. om.

⁹ + Ibn.

¹⁰ Ed. A. السليمان, Y. ل scratched out, L. Br. here and later

السليمان. See Comm.

¹¹ + (Br. unp.) المعروف بابن الفراءد "known as Ibn al-Farâkîd." See Comm.

the days of ar-Râdî. *He ordered those of his followers who were of higher attainments to have criminal intercourse with him,¹ so as to make the Light penetrate into him.

All these sects advocate the communism of wives.²

Another group of them believed in the divinity of *Shibâsh*,³ who is still alive and **resides**⁴ in Baṣra in our own time.

Another group of them believed in the divinity of *Abû Muslim* as-Sirâj. *Then one group of these believed⁵ in the divinity of⁶ *al-Muḩanna'* al-A'war (the Blind), the fuller, who arose⁷ to revenge Abû Muslim. *The name of this fuller was Hâshim.⁸ He was killed—may Allah curse him!—in the days of al-Manṣûr.

The **Rawandiyya**⁹ believed in the divinity of Abû Ja'far¹⁰ *al-Manṣûr*. They professed it publicly. *But al-Manṣûr came out and killed them and wiped them out.¹¹

¹ "وكان يأمر أتباعه بأن ينكح الأفضل منهم الأدنى" *He used to order his followers that the more excellent one of them should have criminal intercourse with the inferior one.*" This is most probably correct.

وَمَنْ قَتَلَ عَلَى الْقَوْلِ بِالْإِهْيَةِ هَذَا الْمَلْعُونِ ابْنَ الشَّلْمَغَانَ +²
حِينَئِذٍ الْوَزِيرُ الْحُسَيْنُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ وَهْبٍ
ابْنِ سَعِيدٍ الْمُسَمَّى عَمِيدَ الدَّوْلَةِ الْمَلْقَبُ بِأَبِي الْجَمَالِ (الحمال) (Codd.)
وَكَانَتْ أُمُّهُ بِنْتُ الْوَزِيرِ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ الْجَرَّاحِ (مخلد) (Br.) وَقَتْلَ مَعَهُ
عَلَى ذَلِكَ ابْنُ أَبِي عَوْنٍ (الكاتب + Br.) أَمَرَ بِقَتْلِهِمَا عَلَى ذَلِكَ
الرَّاضِي "Among those who were then killed because they believed in the
divinity of this cursed Ibn ash-Shalmagân was the Vizier al-Husein b.
'Ubeidallah b. Suleimân b. Wahb b. Sa'id, called 'Amîd ad-Dawla
(Pillar of the Dynasty), with the nickname Abû'l Jamâl (Father of Elegance).
His mother was the daughter of the Vizier al-Husein b. al-Jarrah (Br. Mkhd).—Together with him was killed for the same reason
Ibn Abî 'Aun (Br. + the Kâtib). Ar-Râdî ordered their execution on account of it."

² Ed. Y. شمش; L. Br. unp. The pronunciation is uncertain.

⁴ Ed. misprint المغميم. ⁵ ثم Only.

⁶ + Hâshim.

⁷ + "in Merv."

⁸ Om.

⁹ Ed. Y. الرنودية. L. Br., الزوبدية. See Comm.

¹⁰ + "the Commander of the Faithful."

¹¹ فخرج اليهم بنفسه وأمر بقتلهم فقتلوا كلهم الى لعنة الله

"he himself came out and ordered to kill them. They were all killed, in addition to the curse of Allah."

Another group of them believed in the divinity of 'Abdallah b. al-Hārith¹ of the Banū Kinda² in Kūfa, whom they worshipped. He believed in the Transmigration of Souls. He imposed upon them³ seventeen⁴ prayers (every) day and night,⁵ each prayer having fifteen⁶ "bows." Later, however, [188], one of the dogmatists of the Šufriyya having argued with him and having clearly put forth the arguments for the (true) religion,⁷ he became a Muslim⁸ and his Islam was sound. He renounced all the beliefs he had held previously. He informed his followers of it *and openly showed his repentance.⁹ Thereupon all his followers *who had worshipped him and had professed his divinity withdrew from him. They cursed him and deserted him,¹⁰ and they all returned to the belief in the Imāmate of 'Abdallah b. Mu'awiya b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. 'Abdallah b. al-Hārith, however, persevered *in Islam and¹¹ in the doctrine of the Šufriyya till he died. *His party is still known today as the *Kharbiyya*.¹²

To the Sabā'iyya,¹³ who profess the divinity of 'Alī, belongs a party¹⁴ known as the Nuṣeiriyya.¹⁵ They got hold in our own

¹ L. and Ed. ii, 115 الحَرث; Br. الحَرث (with a soft ح under the line). Ed. Y. here and later الحَرَب. See Comm.

² + صليبة "by descent."

³ على أتباعهم "upon his followers."

⁴ Ed. Y. 19. See Comm.

⁵ L. every day (Br. + and night).

⁶ خمسة عشر; Ed. Y. خمسة عشر.

⁷ "the religion of Islam."

⁸ + باختياره "by his own free will."

⁹ Om.

¹⁰ Differently worded الذين كانوا يعبدونه ويقرون بالاهيته فكذبوه وتبرروا منه ولعنوه.

¹¹ Om. probably owing to homoioteleuton.

¹² (sic) بهم الى اليوم يعرفون بالحرسه after "Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib."

¹³ Ed. Y. السبائية; L. Br. السيامية. See Comm.

¹⁴ Ed. misprint وطائفة instead of طائفة.

¹⁵ Ed. Y. النصرية; L. البصرية; Br. A. النصرية. See Comm.

time *of the army of Urdunn in Palestine and especially of the city of Tiberias.¹ It is one of their tenets to curse² Fâtima, the daughter of the Apostle of Allah, and to curse al-Hasan and al-Husein, the sons of 'Alî, to denounce them in a most detestable manner,³ to charge them with every possible calamity and to assert positively that she and her two sons—may Allah be pleased with them and curse their haters!—were devils who assumed the shape of human beings.⁴ As regards their opinion about 'Abderrâhmân⁵ b. Muljam al-Murâdî (of the Banû Murâd),⁶ the murderer of 'Alî—may Allah be pleased with him⁷ and may the curse of Allah (rest) upon Ibn Muljam!—these (people) maintain *that 'Abderrâhmân b. Muljam al-Murâdî⁸ is the most excellent of all the people of the earth and the most honored⁹ of them in the future world, because he purified¹⁰ the spirit of the Deity from what had stuck to it of the darkness and turbidity¹¹ of the body. Marvel ye at this madness and ask ye of Allah deliverance from the affliction of this and the future world, for it is in his hands, not in anyone else's. May Allah make our portion of it most plentiful!

*Know ye that among all those that count themselves to the religion of Islam, while adhering to these abominable heterodoxies,¹²

¹ على مدينة الطبرية بالشام وعلى جمهور جند الأردن.

² ومن قولهم الخبيث سبّ. "one of their disgraceful tenets is the denouncing." Instead of ³ ومن قوله L. blank.

³ ونسبهم باصرع النسب (sic).

⁴ Instead of ⁵ الحسن L. الانسان, Br. الجن.

⁶ L. 'Abdallah.

⁶ Om.

⁷ Ed. Y. + ⁸ عن عليّ "with 'Alî." It is a gloss to عنه which crept into the text.

⁸ Only ⁹ أنّه "that he."

⁹ A. ¹⁰ اكرههم "the most repugnant." Y. 8 scratched out and م substituted.

¹⁰ يخلص (imperfect form).

¹¹ Br. ¹² فكدوة (= فكدوة) instead of وكدة.

¹² واعلموا ان (ان L. erroneously om.) كل من ينتمى الى دين الاسلام هذه الكفرات الفاحشة التي ذكرنا من دعوى الربوبية "Know ye that all those who reckon these abominable heterodoxies mentioned before, viz., the claim of Divinity, to the religion of Islam."

—that their (vivifying) element are only the Shi'ites¹ and Sûfis.² For there are people among the Sûfis who maintain³ that he who has attained the knowledge of God is exempt from the (religious) precepts.⁴ Some of them add⁵: “and becomes united with the Almighty.” We have been told that there is now in Nîsâbûr in our own age a man, whose Kunya is Abû Sa'id Abû'l-Kheir—thus (two Kunyas) together⁶—belonging to the Sûfis. Sometime he dresses himself in wool⁷, another time he dresses himself in silk⁸ which is forbidden to men. Now he prays thousand “bows” on one day, now⁹ he recites neither the obligatory nor the voluntary prayer. This is pure apostasy. Let us seek refuge in Allah from error !

C. The Imâmâte of the 'Alides.

[Printed Edition (=Ed.) IV, pp. 92-94 ; Codex Leyden (=L.) II, fol. 87a ff. Codex British Museum (=Br.) II, fol. 22^b ff. The variants quoted anonymously are taken from L. and Br. and, if not otherwise stated, identical in both.]

Those who maintain that the Imâmâte is only permissible in the descendants of 'Alî are divided into two parties.

One party maintains that the Apostle of Allah put down a written statement concerning 'Alî, viz. that he was to be the

¹ الشَّيْعِ “the detestable.” Read التَّشْيِيعُ “Shi'ism.”

² لَأَن كِلْتَا “the doctrine of the Sûfis.”—ومذهب الصوفية الطائفتين احكام التأويلات وخروج عن ظاهر القرآن بدعواويهم الفاسدة “for both parties are advocates of (allegorical) interpretation and of giving up the open meaning of the Koran through their corrupt pretensions.”

³ ومن قول بعض الصوفية “one of the views of some Sûfis is.”

⁴ الأعمال الشرعية “religious practices.”

⁵ زاد (instead of وزان).

⁶ هكذا كنيتان مجموعتان (مجموعان L.) معاً “thus two Kunyas joined together.”—+ حنفى المذهب “of the Hanafitic school.”

⁷ + L. الخشن “coarse.” Br. erroneously الحسن “beautiful.”

⁸ + الصِّرف “pure.”

⁹ L. ويوماً “and one day.”

Caliph after him, but the Companions after him¹ unanimously agreed upon doing wrong to 'Alî and upon keeping to themselves the statement of the Prophet. These are the so-called² *Rawâfiḍ*.

The other party says: The Prophet never put down a written statement concerning 'Alî. Yet he was the most excellent of men after the Apostle of Allah and worthier of the command³ than any of them. These are the *Zeidiyya*, who trace their origin to Zeid b. 'Alî b. al-Ḥusein b. 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib.

Then the Zeidiyya fell asunder into several sections. One group said that⁴ the Companions did him wrong, and they declared those of the Companions who opposed him apostates. *These are the *Jârûdiyya*.

Another group maintained that the Companions⁵ did not do him any wrong, but he was pleased to concede his rights to Abû Bekr and 'Omar, who consequently were Imâms of right guidance, some of them stopping at 'Othmân, while others observing a friendly attitude towards him. *A number of people mention⁶ that this was the doctrine⁷ of the Fakîh al-Ḥasan b. Ṣâliḥ b. Ḥayy al-Hamdânî (of the Banû Hamdân).⁸ Says Abû Muhammed: This is a mistake. *I have seen in the book of Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam the Râfiḍite of Kûfa⁹, known under the title [93] "al-Mizân" (the Balance), that he mentions al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy and also (states) that his doctrine was that the Imâmate was permissible in all the descendants of Fîhr b. Mâlik. Says Abû Muhammed: This is the only thing which suits al-Ḥasan¹⁰ b. Ḥayy. For he was one of the Imâms of the (true) religion and Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam knew him better than those who attribute to him other views. Hishâm was his neighbor in Kûfa and

¹ بعد موته "after his death." ² وهؤلاء هم

³ بالخلافة "the caliphate." ⁴ كل "all."

⁵ Om., probably owing to homoioteleuton.

⁶ وذكر بعض من يآلف في المقالات "Some of those who write on heterodox views." See Comm.

⁷ قول.

⁸ + "al-Kûfi."

⁹ لأن هشام بن الحكم عميد الرافضة قال في كتابه "for Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam, the pillar of the Rawâfiḍ, says in his book."

¹⁰ + b. Ṣâliḥ.

knew him better than all other people, having reached his generation and having seen him personally. (Besides), al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy¹—may Allah have mercy on him!—quotes² Mu‘awiya and Ibn Zubeir as authorities, as is well known from his books³ *as well as from the traditions of those who received traditions from him.⁴

⁵All the *Zeidiyya* unanimously agree that the Imâmate is permissible in all the descendants of ‘Alî, as far as they go forth appealing to the Book and the Sunna and carrying(?)⁶ a sword with them.

The *Rawâfiḍ* maintain that the Imâmate is due to ‘Alî himself⁷ on account of a written statement concerning him. Then it (passes over) to al-Ḥasan, then to al-Ḥusein—they claim another written statement of the Prophet concerning these two, after their father,—then to ‘Alî b. al-Ḥusein by reason of the saying of Allah: “And those who are related by blood are the nearest of kin to each other, according to the Book of Allah.”⁸ Therefore, they say, have the descendants of al-Ḥusein⁹ better claims than [the sons of]¹⁰ his brother. Then (the Imâmate passes over) to Muhammed b. ‘Alî b. al-Ḥusein, then to Ja‘far b. Muhammed b. ‘Alî b. al-Ḥusein. This is the doctrine of all their dogmatists, viz. Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam, Hishâm al-Juwâliqî, Dâwud al-Ḥawârî,¹¹ Dâwud ar-Raḳḳî, ‘Alî b. Maṣṣûr, ‘Alî b. Mîṭam,¹² Abû ‘Alî ash-Shakkâk,¹³ the pupil of Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam, Muhammed b. Ja‘far *b. an-Nu‘man¹⁴ Sheiṭân at-Tâk, Abû Mâlik¹⁵ of Ḥaḍramaut and others.

¹ Sâliḥ.

² + في كثير من مسأله “in many of his religious responsa.”

³ Singular.

⁴ بروايات الثقات “through the traditions of reliable authorities.”

⁵ + Says Abû Muhammed.

⁶ Ed. وجب سل. L. وحمله (sic). Br. وحنهف. I cannot make out what this reading means. I propose وحمل “and carry.”

⁷ Om.

⁸ Koran VIII, 76.—L. Br. om. الله.

⁹ L. al-Ḥasan.

¹⁰ Ed. om. بني.

¹¹ الجوارى.

¹² Ed. هيثم. See Comm.

¹³ Ed. Br. السكان. See Comm.

¹⁴ Om.—+ المعروف ب “known as.”

¹⁵ Ed. and Codd. written ملك.

The Rawâfîd then disagreed after the death of those ('Alides) mentioned above, (especially) after the death of Ja'far b. Muhammed. One party assigned the Imâmâte to his son Ismâ'il b. Ja'far.¹ Another party assigned the Imâmâte to his son Muhammed b. Ja'far. *But these are few.² *Still another party maintained that Ja'far was alive and that he has not died.³

The bulk of the Rawâfîd, however, assign the Imâmâte to his son Mûsa b. Ja'far, then 'Alî b. Mûsa, then Muhammed b. 'Alî b. Mûsa, *then 'Alî b. Muhammed b. 'Alî b. Mûsa,⁴ then Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alî.⁵ This al-Ḥasan died without offspring and they were (consequently) divided into several sections. The bulk of them firmly assert that a male child was born to al-Ḥasan *b. 'Alî,⁶ but he hid him. Other people, however, maintain that he was born after al-Ḥasan's death from a slave girl of his by the name of Ṣaḳîl, *and this is the view most commonly accepted.⁷ Some of them however say: no, from a slave girl of his by the name of Narjis. Still others say: no, but from a slave girl of his by the name of Sausan. But the most probable⁸ is that her name was Ṣaḳîl. For this Ṣaḳîl pretended *to be with child after al-Ḥasan b. 'Alî her master,⁹ and his estate remained for this reason unsettled for seven years, being contested by his brother Ja'far b. 'Alî.¹⁰ A number of leading statesmen took her part, while others took Ja'far's part. Then her pretension* of pregnancy¹¹ exploded and was annihilated, and Ja'far his brother took possession of the estate. *The death of this al-Ḥasan took

وَادَّعَوْا أَنَّهُ حَيٌّ لَمْ يَمُتْ وَالَّذِي لَا شَكَّ فِيهِ أَنَّهُ مَاتَ فِي حَيَاةٍ +¹
 (They claimed that he was alive, and that he never died. But there is no doubt that he died during the lifetime of his father. He was his eldest son.) (Codd. حیات)

² Br. om.

³ L. om. owing to homoioteleuton.

⁴ Om.

⁵ Muhammed.

⁶ Om.

⁷ Om.

⁸ والاشهر عندهم "and the most commonly accepted among them."

⁹ انها حامل ان مات سيدها الحسن.

وكان موت الحسن هذا سنة ستين ومائتين بسّر من رأى +¹⁰

"The death of this al-Ḥasan took place in 260 in Surr man Ra'â."

¹¹ ما ادّعت من الحمل.

place in 260.¹ But the contest of the Rawâfîd about this Ṣakîl and her claims still grew (worse), until al-Mu'tadîd imprisoned her,² twenty-odd years after the death of her master. She had been accused³ of living in the house of al-Ḥasan b. Ja'far an-Nûbakhtî⁴ [94], the Kâtib,⁵ and she was (actually) found there and then transported to the castle of al-Mu'tadîd, where she remained until she died in the days of al-Muḥtadir. But they (the Rawâfîd) are still waiting for a lost object⁶ since 180⁷ years.

There existed in olden times a party which is now extinct, whose head was al-Mukhtâr b. Abî 'Ubeid,⁸ (also) Keisân Abû 'Omra⁹ and others. They were of the opinion that after al-Ḥusein¹⁰ the Imâm was his brother Muhammed, known as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. To this party¹¹ belonged as-Sayyid¹² al-Ḥimyarî and Kuṭayyir 'Azza, the two poets. They maintained that Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya was alive in the mountains of Raḍwâ.

¹ Om. here.

² كسبها "acquired her."

³ Ed. غمز does not seem to convey a proper sense. L. Br. غمز. See Comm.

⁴ Unpointed.

⁵ + الملقب بمزمله "with the nickname Mizmala (?)."

⁶ Om. ضالة.

⁷ منذ مائة عام وثمانين عاماً "since hundred and eighty-odd years." See Introduction, p. 19.—+ لا يدرون في أى كنيف غرق "They do not know in which privy he may have sunk." Ed. in all probability intentionally omitted.

⁸ + الثقفى "of the Banû Takîfa."

⁹ Ed. incorrectly ابا; L. Br. المكنى بابى عمرة المكنى بيان وغيرهم. المكنى clearly "بيان" is a gloss to the first المكنى بيان which crept into the text.—غيرهم instead of the dual is probably due to the ignorance of the copyist, who took the gloss for a new name.

¹⁰ L. al-Ḥasan. Br. الحسن على (sic).

¹¹ الطبقة "lot."

¹² + "b. Ismâ'il."

They were addicted to eccentric ideas, for whose description¹ volumes would not suffice.²

Says Abū Muhammed: The pillar of all these parties in their arguments are interpolated and forged traditions, the production of which is not beyond the reach of those who have neither religion nor shame.

D. Synopsis of the Tenets of the Shi'ites.

[Codex Leyden (=L.) II, fol. 163^b; Codex British Museum (=Br.) II, 125^b.]

تَمَثِيلَ أَقْوَالِ الشَّيْعَةِ، قَالَتِ الشَّيْعَةُ عَلَى أَفْضَلِ عَجَابِ رَسُولِ
اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَحَقَّهُمْ بِالْإِمَامَةِ فَلَمَّا عَزَمُوا عَلَى
ذَلِكَ وَحَقَّقُوهُ قَالَ قَائِلٌ مِنْهُمْ فَإِنَّ الْأَمْرَ كَذَلِكَ فَلِأُمَّةٍ مُخْطِئَةٌ
بِتَقْدِيمِهَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ ثُمَّ عُمَرَ ثُمَّ عُثْمَانَ فَجَبُنَ عَنْ ذَلِكَ الْحَسَنُ
بْنُ حَازِمٍ وَجَمْعُ الْيَزِيدِيَّةِ وَانْصَرَفُوا عَنْ ذَلِكَ الشَّعْبِ وَاقْتَحَمَهُ
سَائِرُ الشَّيْعَةِ فَلَمَّا حَقَّقُوا خَطَأَ الْأُمَّةِ كُلِّهَا قَالَ قَائِلٌ مِنْهُمْ فَقَدْ
ظَلَمُوا إِذَنْ وَفَسَقُوا وَكَفَرُوا إِنْ تَدِينُوا بِمَا لَا يَحِلُّ وَدِينُ اللَّهِ
عَزَّ وَجَلَّ لَا يَحِلُّ أَخْذُهُ عَنْ فَسَاقٍ وَلَا عَنْ كُفَّارٍ فَغَفَرَ مِنْ هَذَا
الشَّعْبِ سَلِيمَانُ بْنُ جَرِيرٍ وَالتَّمَّارُ وَاعْحَابُهُمَا وَاقْتَحَمَهُ سَائِرُ
الشَّيْعَةِ فَلَمَّا عَزَمُوا عَلَى ذَلِكَ وَحَقَّقُوهُ قَالَ قَائِلٌ مِنْهُمْ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ
كَذَلِكَ فَعَلَى قَدَرٍ أَنْ يَكْفُرَ أَهْلُ الْكُفْرِ وَأَعَانَ عَلَى إِبْطَالِ الدِّينِ

¹ "many." الكثيرة +

² وَلَقَدْ ذُكِرَ أَنَّهُ قِيلَ لِلسَّيِّدِ الْحَمِيرِيِّ لَعَنَهُ اللَّهُ مَنْ مَعَكَ عَلَى +

"It has been mentioned that as-Sayyid al-Himyarî—Allah curse him!—was once asked: "who is thy associate in this doctrine?" and he answered: "a cobbler in Rai (Teheran)." See Comm.

ان لم يكشف وجهه فهو وهم سواء فنفرت الشيعة جملة من هذا الشعب واقتحمه ابو كامل ومن اتبعه فلما حققوا ذلك قال قائل منهم فان الامر كذلك فمحمّد هو الظالم المسيّب لكل ذلك ان لم يبين الامر يقطع العذر به وقال قائل منهم آخر بل جبريل هو الظالم ان عدا بالنبوة عن علي الى محمد، قال ابو محمد ما هم الا مستحقون مستهزؤون ونعوذ بالله من الضلال.

Synopsis of the Tenets of the Shi'ites.

The Shi'ites say: 'Alî is the most excellent of the Companions of the Apostle of Allah and worthier of the Imâmate than any of them. This having been settled and established, one of them said: If the matter be such, then the nation committed a sin by nominating Abû Bekr, then 'Omar, then 'Othmân. Al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy¹ and the bulk of the Zeidiyya shrank from this (consequence) and turned aside from this narrow pass, while the rest of the Shi'ites rushed into it. The sinfulness of the whole nation having been established, one of them said: If so, then they (i. e. the Companions who submitted to those nominated) acted wrongly, and became irreligious and apostates,² since they professed something that is forbidden, and it is therefore not allowed to receive the religion of Allah from irreligious men or apostates. Suleimân b. Jarîr³, at-Tammar⁴ and their followers flee from this narrow pass, while the rest of the Shi'ites rush into it. This having been settled and established, one of them said: If this be so, then 'Alî also *became an apostate,⁵ having assisted the adherents of apostasy and having contributed towards the annihilation of religion, since he did not uncover

¹ Codd. حسي.

² Br. om. وكفروا (purposely).

³ Codd. الحريير.

⁴ Codd. "Ibn at-Tammâr."

⁵ Br. om. See p. 55.

his face; he and they are therefore alike. All the Shi'ites flee from this narrow pass, while Abû Kâmil and those that follow him rush into it. This having been established, one of them said: *If the matter be such, then Muhammed is the guilty one who set free all these (contentions) by not having explained the matter (so as) to cut down all pretexts regarding it.¹ Another one of them said: Surely, Jibril alone is guilty, because he passed with the prophecy from Alî to Muhammed.

Says Abû Muhammed: They do nothing but show contempt and make fun (of Allah). Let us seek refuge in Allah from error!

[The Commentary will follow in the next number of this Journal.]

¹ L. om. owing to homoioteleuton.

COMMENTARY.¹

THE Commentary herewith presented follows Ibn Ḥazm's text published in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, pp. 28-80, by page and line. In marking the lines, I have counted *every* line on the page, including the superscriptions. The footnotes are not quoted by the line but by the number prefixed to them. In the case of some very long footnotes, I also added the line of the footnote referred to.

I prefix a "List of Cited Works," giving all the authorities (with short biographical dates) regularly or frequently quoted in this treatise. The abbreviations under which they are quoted are made noticeable to the eye.² Books only incidentally referred to are omitted in this list. MS. before the title signifies that the book has not yet appeared in print and has been used in manuscript.

In quoting from Arabic sources I have discriminated between printed works and manuscripts. The latter I quote in the original; the former I give—except in cases of necessity—in

¹ Continued from Vol. xxviii, pp. 1-80.

² To simplify the abbreviations, I purposely neglect the rules of exact transliteration.

translation, as the text itself is accessible to the specialist. In translating from the printed edition of Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal*, I usually attach the important variants from the manuscripts at my disposal.

I plead guilty to being inconsistent in transliterating the Arabic. Such inconsistencies are scarcely avoidable. The specialist will pardon them, the layman will hardly notice them.

As regards the index to this treatise, I refer the reader to my remarks in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, p. 27.

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Ikd. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi [d. 328/940], al-'Ikd al-farîd, I-III. Cairo, 1293. *If not otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. I.*

IKhald. Ibn Khaldûn [d. 808/1406], Muḳaddima, ed Quatremère I-III. [Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale voll. 16-18] Paris, 1847-1858.

IKhall. Ibn Khallikân [d. 681/1282], Kitâb wafayât al-a'yân, ed. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1835-43.

IKot. Ibn Koteiba [d. 276/889], Kitâb al-ma'ârif, ed. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1850.

Isfr. MS. On Isfrâ'ini [d. 471/1078], see Introduction, p. 26.

Istakhrî [wrote 340/951], ed. de Goeje [Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum I]. Leyden, 1870.

Kashi.¹ Abû 'Amr Muhammed b. 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Kashshî (from Kashsh in Jurjân) [approximately 300^h.² *Imamîte*], Ma'rifat akhbâr ar-rijâl. Biographies of Shiitic worthies chronologically arranged. Bombay 1317^h.—The author apparently draws on old and rare sources.

Kremer, Ideen. Kremer, Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams. Leipzig, 1868.

Lubb al-Lubâb. Suyûtî [d. 911/1505], Lubb al-lubâb fi tahrîr al-ansâb, ed. P. J. Veth. Leyden, 1830–32.

Makr. Makrîzî [d. 845/1442], Kitâb al-mawâ'iz wa'l-i'tibâr bi-dikri'l-khiṭaṭ wa'l-âthâr, I–II. Bûlâk, 1270^h. Draws partly on very old sources. *Unless otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. II.*

Masudi. Mas'ûdî [d. 345/956]. Murûj ad-dahab, ed. Barbier de Meynard, I–IX. Paris, 1861–77.—His information is incidental and brief, but extremely valuable.

Mirza. MS. Mirzâ Makhdûm [about 1594], Risâlat an-nawâkid fi-radd 'âlâ-r-Rawâfiḍ. A polemical treatise against Shiism. Cod. Berlin; Ahlwardt, Catalogue No. 2136.

Nawawi, Tahdîb. Nawawî [d. 676/1278], Tahdîb al-asmâ wa'l-luġât, ed. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1842–7.

PRE³. Protestantische Realencyklopädie, ed. Herzog and Hauck. Third edition.

de Sacy. Exposé de la religion des Druzes, I–II. Paris, 1838. *Quotations in Roman figures refer to vol. I.*

Shahr. Shahrastânî [d. 548/1153], Kitâb al-Milal wa'n-Nihâl, ed. Cureton I–II. London, 1842–6. *Quotations refer to vol. I.*

Sibt, Imams. MS. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzî [d. 654/1257], Kitâb sîrat maulâna Amîr al-Mu'minîn al-Imâm 'Alî . . . wa-aulâdihi.

¹ Mr. Ellis, of the British Museum, kindly called my attention to this work.

² I have been unable to find any statement bearing on the age of this author. The date given in the text is based on the following calculations. al-Kashshî was a pupil of al-'Ayyâshî (edition of his work, p. 379). The latter is no doubt identical with *Fihrist* 195¹⁴, and Tusy, *List of Shy'ah books*, No. 690. Neither of these authors give his age. But according to Tusy, ib., al-'Ayyâshî "heard the disciples (aşḥâb) of 'Alî b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍâl" who died 224^h (Tusy, No. 191). This justifies the rough estimate given in the text.

A biography of Ali and his successors in the Imamate. Cod. Leyden (Warner 915).

Suyuti, Tarikh. Suyûṭî [d. 911/1505], Ta'riḫ al-Khulafâ, ed. Sprenger and Mawlawî 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ. Calcutta, 1857.

— translated into English by H. S. Jarrett. Calcutta, 1881.

Tab. Ṭabarî [d. 309/921], Annales, ed. de Goeje.

Tusy. Ṭâsî [d. 459/1067. *Imamite*]. List of Shy'ah books, ed. Sprenger and Mawlawî 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ. Calcutta, 1853-5.

van Vloten, Chiitisme. van Vloten, Recherches sur la Domination arabe, le Chiitisme et les Croyances messianiques dans le Khalifat des Omayyades. [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel I, No. 3.] Amsterdam, 1894.

van Vloten, Worgers. von Vloten, Worgers in Iraq [Feestbundel . . . van zijn tachtigsten geboortedag aan Dr. P. J. Veth]. Leyden, 1894. (See this volume, p. 92.)

Wellhausen, Opp. Wellhausen, Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam. Berlin, 1901. [Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Neue Folge. Band V, Nro. 2].

Wolff, Drusen. Wolff, Die Drusen und ihre Vorläufer. Leipzig, 1845.—Based on de Sacy.

Wüstenfeld, Register. Wüstenfeld, Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen. Göttingen, 1853.

Wüstenfeld, Tabellen. Wüstenfeld, Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme und Familien. Göttingen, 1852.

ZDMG. Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Zeid. MS. al-Ḳâsim b. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥasanî [d. 246/860. *From Yemen. Zeidite*], a volume containing miscellaneous Zeiditic writings (19 in number). Cod. Berlin; Ahlwardt, Catalogue No. 4876. Contains reliable and, in view of the early date of the author, extremely valuable information.

Zeid. Mutaz. Aḥmad b. Yahya b. 'l-Murtaḍâ [d. 840^b. *From Yemen. Zeidite*], Kitâb al-Milal wa'n-Nihâl. Chapter on the Mu'tazila, ed. Arnold. Leipzig, 1902.

Yakut. Yâḳût [d. 626/1229], Geographical Dictionary ed. Wüstenfeld I-VI. Leipzig, 1868-73.

List of Abbreviations.

Codd.=Codices: the manuscripts of Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wa'n-Nihāl in distinction from the printed edition.

Comm.=Commentary to Ibn Ḥazm's Milal published in this volume.

Ed.=printed edition of Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wa'n-Nihāl.

Introd.=Introduction to this treatise in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, pp. 1-28.

Milal=the manuscripts of Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wa'n-Nihāl:

Br = British Museum.

L = Leyden.

V = Vienna.

Y = Yale.

See Introd., p. 17.

Note, with a number following, refers to the footnotes under the *Text* (see next).

Text=Text of Ibn Ḥazm's Milal published in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, pp. 28-80.

Small figures above large figures indicate the line on the page referred to. When underlined, the small figure indicates that the lines are to be counted from below.

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- [28] P. 28, l. 21 f.¹ I am not sure that I have correctly rendered the words of the original (Ed. II, 111⁵): وإيراد ما شغب به (بها) LVY read من شغب منهم فيما غلط فيه من فحلته.

The meaning of the sentence is not quite clear. It largely depends on the interpretation of the verb شغب. The latter, followed by على, في, or ب, usually designates "to excite, stir up evil, mischief or discord, against or among people" (Lane). We have translated accordingly, taking به as referring to فحلته and إليها in the preceding sentence. But our author, who is apparently very fond of this word, seems to use it in a somewhat different sense. Thus Ed. II, 131²² فكل ما ثبت

¹ The reference is to Vol. xxviii of this Journal, as already stated.

“contradiction to [28] *ببرهانٍ فُعُورِضٍ بِشَىءٍ فَإِنَّمَا هُوَ شَغْبٌ*

anything that has been logically demonstrated is nothing but

شَغْبٌ اهل السفسطة I, 20⁷ شَغْبٌ, i. e., casuistry or sophistry.”

“the casuistry of the Sophists.” 19¹⁹: a certain heretic was con-

vincingly refuted *وَلَمْ يَكُنْ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا الشَّغْبُ* “and nothing was 5 left to him except sophistic arguments.” See also III, 214¹²,

V, 79⁵, 80¹, 93² (مَشَاغِبُهُمْ). Comp. Dozy sub voce مَشَاغِبُ:

“suppositions captieuses, sophismes” (from Makḥari). The

verb is applied by Ibn Ḥazm in the same sense and construed

with *ب* rei. Ed. V, 15⁴ مَا نَعْلَمُ لَهُمْ حُجَّةً شَغِبُوا بِهَا فِي هَذَا 10

أَصْلًا “we know of no proof whatever which they could casuistically bring forward in favor of this nonsense.” III, 203⁸

وَقَدْ شَغِبَ بَعْضُهُمْ بِأَنَّ هَذِهِ الْآيَةَ قُبِئَتْ لَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ بِضَمِّ النَّاءِ

“One of them sophistically assumes that the verse (Koran 17, 104) reads ‘alimtu’ with a ‘ḍamma’ over the ‘tâ’.”—In 15

accordance with these quotations the sentence under consideration ought to be translated: “and to expound the *sophisms* that were brought forward by those of them who argue sophistically”

بِه would then be the عَائِد (Wright,³ *Arabic Grammar* II, 320A) of مَا and the variant بِهَا would be an intentional cor- 20

rection.—فِيهَا غُلِطَ فِيهِ مِنْ نُحْلَتِهِ is somewhat hard, but it can scarcely be translated otherwise than it has been done in the text.

29, l. 1. Ed. as well as Codd. write, as a rule, *المرجئية* [29]

(or *المرجية*) both with Hamza and Yâ. This spelling may have

been chosen intentionally, so as to embrace the two interpreta- 25

tions given to the word, the one deriving it from رَجَأُ “to delay,”

the other from the root رَجَوُ “to inspire hope.” Comp. Shahr.

103, Makr. 349², Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 90, note 1.

— L. 10 f. For the better understanding of this paragraph I insert here the synopsis of Murji'ite doctrines given in *Milal* 30

L II, 162^b: قَالَتِ الْمَرْجِيَّةُ الْإِيمَانُ هُوَ التَّصَدِيقُ دُونَ الْعَمَلِ

فَلَمَّا حَقَّقُوا ذَلِكَ وَعَزَمُوا عَلَيْهِ قَالَ جَهْمُ بْنُ صَفْوَانَ وَالْأَشْعَرِيُّ

إِنَّ الْأَمْرَ كَذَلِكَ فَهُوَ التَّصْدِيقُ بِالْقَلْبِ خَاصَّةً وَإِنْ أَعْلَنَ الْكُفْرَ [29] بِلِسَانِهِ فِي دَارِ الْإِسْلَامِ بَلَا نِيَّتَهُ¹ وَقَالَ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ كَرَامٍ إِذَا الْأَمْرُ كَذَلِكَ فَهُوَ التَّصْدِيقُ بِاللِّسَانِ وَإِنْ آمَنَ الْكُفْرَ بِقَلْبِهِ فَتَنَفَّرَ سَائِرُ الْمَرْجِيَّةِ عَنْ هَذَيْنِ الشَّعْبَيْنِ وَاقْتَصَمَهُمَا الْجَهْمِيَّةُ

⁵ والكرامية والاشعرية. See the detailed account on the Murji'a Ed. IV, 204 ff. On the question as to the nature of "Faith" see III, 188 ff.

— L. 11. Abū Ḥanīfa died 767 C. E. Shahr. 105 admits that this famous Fakīh is generally counted among the Murji-
¹⁰ 'ites.² He does so reluctantly, as the latter, in spite of their close relation to the Sunna, are considered heterodox, and he explains this, in a rather far-fetched manner, as the result of a misunderstanding. But inconsistently enough, he himself later mentions him among the prominent men of the Murji'a (p. 108).

¹⁵ — L. 15. Jahm was executed for his heterodox beliefs towards the end of the Omeyyad period, Shahr. 19, 60. Makr. 349²⁵.

— Ibidem. On al-Ash'arī's (873–935 C. E.) doctrine see de Boer, 56 f. At first opposed, "he was finally considered so
²⁰ orthodox that anyone who attacked him was regarded as an infidel who deserved capital punishment. The devout philosopher was revered as a saint" (Dozy, *Isl.* 255). It is highly characteristic that Maḳrīzī, who quotes this passage almost verbatim (345¹⁶)³, omits al-Ash'arī's name both here and l. 17.
²⁵ Although himself a Zāhirite like Ibn Ḥazm,⁴ he did not possess his courage or consistency to charge the patron-saint of the Sunna with heterodox views. The same consideration probably accounts for the variant in L and Y (see note 6). The printer of Ed. repeatedly endeavors to defend al-Ash'arī against the
³⁰ attacks of our author. In a footnote to this passage (II, 111)

¹ On the margin *بلا قلبه صح*.

² Comp. IKot. 301.

³ Maḳrīzī frequently plagiarizes Ibn Ḥazm; see Goldziher, *Zahiriten* 202; *Muh. St.* II, 269.

⁴ Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 196 f.

he maintains that Ibn Hazm misrepresents al-Ash'arî's view, [29] ascribing this circumstance to the geographical distance between these two men (the former in Spain, the latter in Basra). In a footnote to III, 206 he asserts that the difference between al-Ash'arî and Ibn Hazm is merely verbal.

— L. 16. Muhammed b. Karrâm (died 256^h, Makr. 357²³) is counted Makr. 349⁹ (comp. 357²⁰ ff.) among the Mushabbiha. On his view regarding the external nature of "faith" (our text l. 21 f.) see Ed. III, 188, Bagd. 4^a. Comp. de Boer, 56.

— L. 20. On the principle of "Taḳiyya" see Goldziher's¹⁰ article ZDMG. 60, 213 ff. It is of special significance for the Shi'a, ib. p. 217 ff.

— L. 24 f. See the chapter on the Mu'tazila, Ed. IV, 192 ff.

— L. 25 f. The three Mu'tazilites named here occupy an intermediate position in the question of Kadar: It is God who creates the actions of man, but man has the privilege of giving assent to them. Shahr. 62, de Boer 56.

— L. 25. On an-Najjâr (9th century C. E.) see Makr. 350³.

— L. 26. Instead of غِيَاث (also Ed. IV, 45¹⁰, Makr. 350¹³) Shahr. 63³ has عَنَاب (Haarbrücker 94⁸ 'Attâb).—Makr. 350¹⁷ 20 counts him among the Mujabbira, admitting, however, that because of his other views he is generally reckoned among the Mu'tazila. He died 218^h, *Fihrr.* 182, n. 7.

30, l. 1. On Dirâr see Makr. 349¹. Comp. Ed. I, 109. [30]

— L. 2. See on this famous Mu'tazilite p. 66³¹ and passim—25 His peculiar position in the question of Kadar, de Boer, 51.

— L. 5 ff. See Text 74¹⁹ ff. and Comm.

— L. 14. The synopsis of Khârijite views given in *Milal* L II, 162^b will serve to illustrate this passage:

قَالَتِ الْخَوَارِجُ
الْمَعَاصِي كُفْرٌ فَلَمَّا عَزَمُوا عَلَى ذَلِكَ وَحَقَّقُوهُ قَالَتِ الصُّفَرِيَّةُ إِنَّ
الْأَمْرَ كَذَلِكَ فَقَتَلُوهُمْ وَسَبُّ نِسَاءِهِمْ وَاجِبٌ وَالِدَارُ دَارُ كُفْرٍ وَحَرْبُ
تَجَبُّنَتِ الْإِبَاضِيَّةُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ وَرَجَعُوا عَنْ هَذَا الشَّعْبِ وَاقْتَحَمَهُ سَائِرُ
الْخَوَارِجِ فَلَمَّا حَقَّقُوا ذَلِكَ قَالَتِ الْأَزَارِقَةُ فَإِنَّ الْأَمْرَ كَذَلِكَ فَالْوَاجِبُ
قَتْلُ النِّسَاءِ وَالْأَطْفَالِ لِأَنَّهُمْ كُفَرَاءُ تَجَبُّنَتِ الصُّفَرِيَّةُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ
وَاقْتَحَمَهُ الْأَزَارِقَةُ. See Ed. IV. 188 ff., Shahr. 100.

[30] — L. 15. The Khârijite named here was an intimate friend of the extreme Shiite Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam (p. 65¹¹), Masudi V, 343.

— L. 17 f. The names of these three heretics appear in so manifold and puzzling variations that it is well-nigh impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion.

The father's name of the *first* occurs in the following forms:

1) حادط (or حايط) *Milal* V 50^a, L II, 145^b, Masudi III, 267, Shahr. 18, 42, Makr. 347¹⁴, de Sacy XLII footnote, also in the¹⁰ carefully printed manuscripts of Bagd. 49^b, 136^a and Isfr. 8^a, 62^b. We have adopted this reading in our text.—2) حابط, very frequently: Ed Y in our passage. Ed. I, 78¹⁵, 90¹⁷, *Milal* L I, 36^a, Iji 340, de Sacy, ibidem.—3) خابط L here (so probably also V, see note 8), Ed. IV, 197–198 (several¹⁵ times).—4) حابط Ed. III, 120⁶.—5) حافظ Br. here, L II, 162^b l. 1 (حائط).

Still more numerous are the variations of the father's name of the *second* person. It is found written as follows¹: 1) مالوس Ed. here.—2) ياقوس Masudi III, 267.—3) قابوس *Milal* V, 20 50^a.—4) سابوس Ed. IV, 198¹⁸.—5) نابوس Br. here (V بابوس).—6) مانوس (احمد بن أيوب بن) Shahr. 43.—7) بانوس Y here (L unpointed); Isfr. 63^a نازوش (sic).²—8) نانوس Ed. I, 90¹⁷.³—9) يانوش (احمد بن أيوب بن) Bagd. 103^b. We have followed this reading of Bagd., owing to the careful²⁵ punctuation of the manuscript (see Introduction, p. 27).—The ending وس = os appears in all these readings. This most probably indicates Christian origin, the more so as the views of these men (see later) distinctly show Christian influence.

¹ Note 9 contains several misprints which must be corrected in accordance with the text above.

² “Mânûsch,” as Haarbrücker (II, 419) transcribes the reading of Isfr., is impossible in the manuscript.

³ Schreiner, *Der Kalâm in der jûdischen Litteratur*, p. 63, note 1, is inclined to accept this reading, and to identify it with the Greek *Nāvoç* which occurs as the name of several Syrian bishops (Harkavy, *Haḥôkêr* II, 17). But the latter name is transcribed in Arabic as نانا (Harkavy, ibidem).

The by-name of the *third* as given by Ed. is no doubt incorrect, [30] as according to the express statement Ed. IV, 197²⁰ al-Faḍl was (as well as Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it) from *Baṣra*. Instead of *الحراني* we find: 1) *الحارثي* Isfr. 64^a l. 3.—2) *الحربي* Ed. III, 120⁷, IV, 197²⁰; (V here *الحزبي*; Br. L here and L II, 162^b, l. 1 5 *الحربي*; L II, 146^a (sic) *التهربي*).—3) *الحديثي* Shahr. 18; 42 *الحديثي* Iji 340. It is impossible to decide on the proper form.

The doctrines common to these three men consist mainly of the belief in the divinity of Jesus and a fully developed theory¹⁰ of Metempsychosis; see the sources quoted above, especially Ed. I, 90, Shahr. 42 f., Makr. 347. They are usually mentioned together and designated as the pupils of the Mu'tazilite an-Nazzām (p. 58^a), who himself betrays the influence of Christian doctrine, comp. Schreiner, *der Kalām in der jüdischen Littera-*¹⁵
tur, p. 4.—According to Ed. I, 90¹⁷ and Bagd. 103^b, Aḥmad b. Yānūsh (or whatever his name) was a pupil of Aḥmad b. Ḥā'it.

— L. 18. On the term “Rawāfiḍ” see Appendix A.

— L. 19. On the Ṣūfis see Text 73². The omission in L. Y.²⁰ (note 11) is probably intentional. Ibn Ḥazm as Zāhirite has naturally enough a particular aversion to the allegorical interpretation current among the Ṣūfis.

— Ibidem. Abū Ismā'il belonged to the radical wing of the extreme Khārijite sect of the Azāriḳa (comp. above p. 9³⁵),²⁵ Ed. IV, 189. Makr. 349⁵ calls him Ismā'il and counts him among the Mujabbira.

31, l. 1. On the 'Ajārīda of the Khawārij see Ed. IV, 191^a, [31] Shahr. 95. On the conception of “Ijmā'” see de Boer 38.

— L. 17. Muḳātil is counted Shahr. 108 (comp. ib. p. 106)³⁰ among the Murji'a, but later on, p. 121, among the Zeidiyya.

— L. 20. See the names of these three Shiites in the Index. —On the close relation between the Shi'a and the Mu'tazila see ZDMG. 52, 216; 53, 380, 538; 60, 225, de Boer 43 ult. Comp. Müller, *Islam*, II, p. 9. The Shiites mentioned here all belong³⁵ to the Imāmiyya. Still closer is the relation of the Zeidiyya to the Mu'tazila. Zeid b. Ali (Text 74⁹), the founder of the former sect, was a pupil of Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā, the founder of the latter

[31] (Shahr. 116), who in turn is said to have received the "science of Kalâm" from Muhammed b. al-Hanafîyya, *Zeid. Mutaz.* 10 penult. Typical is the utterance Makrîzî's (348²⁸) "Seldom is a Mu'tazilite found who is not a Râfidite, except a few."

⁵ 33, l. 23. "Went to the extreme," lit. "exaggerated" = [33] غَلَا. This verb, which in the form of the participle (غَالِيَةً or غُلَاةً) has become the technical term for the Ultra-Shi'a, originally seems to have had a wider range and to have been applied to other than Shiitic movements. Thus *Ikd* (249) has a special chapter on "guluww" in asceticism. Makrîzî applies this expression to all sects of Islam and states in the case of each sect the nature of its "guluww," i. e., in how far it exaggerates the correct principles of the Sunna.

— L. 24. This view is held by Abû Ismâ'il al-Bittîkhî (p. 15 11²³), Ed. IV, 189°.

— L. 26. This view is held by the Meimûniyya, a section of the 'Ajârîda, Ed. IV, 190¹¹, Shahr. 96, Bagd. 4^b. They slavishly adhered to the restrictions in Koran 4, 27.

— L. 27. This view, too, is attributed to the Meimûniyya, ²⁰ Shahr. 95 f., comp. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Korans*, p. 277 ff.

— L. 28 f. See Koran 24, 2; 5, 42 and comp. Ed. IV, 189°.

Milal L II, 25^b l. 2¹: قَالَ أَبُو حَمْدٍ، وَبَعْضُ الْخَوَارِجِ جَسَرَ فَقَالَ: يُقَامُ الْحُدُودُ عَلَيْهِمْ ثُمَّ يُسْتَتَابُونَ فَيُقْتَلُونَ قَالَ أَبُو حَمْدٍ وَهَذَا خِلَافٌ لِلْإِجْمَاعِ الْمُتَيَقِّنِ وَخِلَافٌ لِلْقُرْآنِ الْحَكِيمِ.

²⁵ — L. 33. The doctrine of Metempsychosis was current among the Mu'tazilites, Schreiner, *der Kalâm in der jüdischen Litteratur*, p. 62 ff. It was of vital importance for the extreme Shi'a, to whom it served as a metaphysical substructure for many of their beliefs and practices (see Index s.v. "Transmigration of ³⁰ Souls"). Shahr., Makr. and others mention a special sect called Tanâsukhiyya.—See also p. 26¹⁰ ff.

[34] 34, l. 2. This view is attributed to a certain Abû Gîfâr, Ed. IV, 197¹⁷. L II, 145^b is more explicit: وَأَمَّا غِفَارٌ أَحَدٌ

¹ I cannot identify the passage in Ed.

² L II, 163^b he is called as in Ed. أَبُو غِفَارٍ.

[34] شيوخ المعتزلة وُهبانهم فكان يزعم ان شَحْمَ الحَنَزِيرِ ودماغهِ
وُغُصْرُوفِهِ وِجْدُهُ وَأَلْبَانُهَا¹ (sic) حلال.

— L. 4. Comp. Ed. IV, 206^b ff.

— L. 7. Ibn Ḥazm (Ed. IV, 199²¹) quotes in the name of Ismâ'il b. 'Abdallah ar-Ru'ainî, an older contemporary of his, ⁵ who was known for his piety and asceticism, the doctrine "that he who has reached the highest degree of righteousness and purity of soul has attained prophecy and that the latter is by no means a special faculty."

— L. 9. Instead of "pious" better translate "saints."—¹⁰ Comp. Ed. IV, 27^o: "We often heard of Sûfis who maintained that a saint was superior to a prophet;" IV, 226¹⁶, "a part of the Sûfis claim that there are among the Divine Saints (أَوْلِيَاءُ اللَّهِ) some who are superior to all the prophets and apostles, and that he who has reached the utmost limit of saintliness is ¹⁵ exempt from all religious precepts, as prayer, fast, alms, etc. and is allowed all forbidden things, as adultery, wine, and so forth." IBab. *Itikadat* 24^a ascribes the same views to the adherents of Ḥallâj (Text 69¹⁸): ²⁰ وعَلَامَةُ الْحَلَّاجِيَّةِ مِنَ الْعُلَاةِ دَعْوَى: التَّكَلِّي بِالْعِبَادَةِ مَعَ تَدْيِثِهِمْ بِتَرْكِ الصَّلَاةِ وَجَمِيعِ الْفَرَائِضِ

ودَعْوَى الْمَعْرِفَةِ بِأَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ² ودَعْوَى أَنْطِبَاعِ الْحَقِّ لَهُمْ
وَأَنَّ الْوَلِيَّ إِذَا خَلَصَ وَعَرَفَ مَذْهَبَهُمْ فَهُوَ عِنْدَهُمْ أَفْضَلُ مِنَ
الْأَنْبِيَاءِ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ. Comp. also Ibn al-Athîr's utterance
p. 14¹⁰.—One might think of reading الصُوفِيَّةُ instead of اَهْلُ

السَّنَةِ (l. 8). But the author reviews the "exaggerations" of ²⁵ each of the five sects of Islam (Text 28 ult.). The Sunnites in consequence cannot be missing (cf. p. 12^b ff.).

— L. 12. The belief in Incarnation (ḥulûl) forms the basis of the cardinal ultra-Shiitic belief in the Divine nature of the Imams. Most historians of religion enumerate a special sect ³⁰ called Ḥulûliyya. See Index sub voce "Incarnation."

¹ The change in gender because milk naturally refers to the female.

² See p. 82¹⁹.

[34] — L. 13. On Ḥallāj see Comm. to p. 69¹⁸. Ibn Ḥazm effectively ridicules this belief in the divinity of Ḥallāj, Ed. V, 117. He repeatedly quotes Ḥallāj as the type of a (pseudo) miracle worker, e. g., Ed. I, 110¹¹ and elsewhere.

5 — L. 16. See p. 78²⁵.

— L. 18. On as-Sayyid, see passages specified in the Index.

— L. 20. See Text 69^b and Comm.

— L. 21. See p. 79²².

— L. 22. On Abū Maṣṣūr, see p. 89¹⁴.

10 — L. 23. On Bazîğ, see p. 95³⁴; on Bayân, p. 88⁴.

— L. 25. See p. 24²⁷ ff.

[35] 35, l. 1 ff. Comp. a similar utterance of Ibn al-Athîr (VIII, 21). These heretics maintain "that all the religious precepts

have an inner meaning, and that Allah has imposed upon his 15 saints and those that have perceived the Imāms and the "Gates" (abwâb, ṣūfītic term) neither prayer nor alms nor anything else." Makr. 352¹⁸ quotes in the name of the Khaṭṭābiyya (Text 69) the same specimens of allegorical interpretation, with a few characteristic modifications. Thus "Jibt" and "Ṭāğūt"

20 (l. 7) are interpreted as referring to Abū Sufyân and 'Amr b. al-Ās, while Abū Bekr and 'Omar are represented by "khamr" (wine) and "maysir" (a gambling game), Koran 2, 216; 5, 92. This is no doubt an attempt to soften somewhat the insult to "the two Sheikhs" implied in the original interpretation.

25 Interesting, because reflecting the attitude of official Shiism toward these exegetic endeavors, are the two anecdotes told Kashi 188. "Abū 'Abdallah (i. e., Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, see Index) wrote to Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (Text 69^a): 'It has come to my knowledge that thou assumest that "adultery" means a person, that

30 "wine," "prayer," "fasts" and "abominations" (fawāhish, Koran 6, 152; 7, 31) mean certain persons. It is not as thou sayest.'—Someone said to Ja'far: 'It is reported in thy name that "wine," "maysir," "images," and "arrows" (Koran 5, 92) stand for certain persons.' He replied: Allah would cer- 35 tainly not have told his people something that they could not know (i. e., understand by mere allusion).'

— L. 12. See p. 92¹² ff.

— L. 13 ff. See also Text 49^a. I. Ḥ. alludes to the same attitude of the Shiites, *Milal* I II, 82^b (=Ed. IV, 83): Jahm 40 b. Ṣafwân and Abū'l-Huḍail, as well as certain Rawāfiḍ, deny the

eternity of Paradise and Hell (comp. p. 74). He then proceeds to refute Jahm and Abū'l-Hudēil. As for the Rawāfid, they deserve no refutation, as they do not rely on logical demonstration (the last sentence missing in Ed.). In another passage (Ed. II, 94) I. H. elaborately argues against those of his co-religionists who "take it for granted that religion cannot be accepted on the basis of logical demonstration, thus gladdening the hearts of the heretics and testifying that religion can be established by means of assumptions and by superior force." How deeply seated this aversion to argumentation was in Shiitic circles can be seen from the utterances of the famous Imamite Ibn Bâbūye (*Itikadat* 6^b), who devotes a whole chapter to this subject. I reproduce this interesting chapter in its essential parts:

باب الاعتقاد في التناهي عن الجدال والمراء في الله تعالى¹⁵
وفي دينه قال الشيخ ابو جعفر¹ رحمه الله تعالى اعتقادنا في ذلك ان الجدال في الله تعالى منهي عنه لأنه يؤدي الى ما لا يليق به وسئل الصادق عليه السلام عن قول الله تعالى وَأَنَّ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ أَلْمَنَتَهُ² قال عليه السلام اذا انتهى الكلام الى الله تعالى فأمسكوا³ وكان الصادق عليه السلام يقول يا آبن آدم لو أكل قلبك طائر لم يُشيعه وبصرُك لو وضع عليه خرقة إبرة لغطاه تريد ان تعرف بها ملكوت السماوات والارض إن كنت صادقاً فهذه الشمس خلق من خلق الله فإن قدرت فأملاً عينيك منها فهو كما تقول والجدال في جميع أمور الدين منهي عنه وقال امير المؤمنين⁴ عليه السلام من طلب الدين²⁵

¹ This is the Kunya of Ibn Bâbūye.

² Koran 53, 43.

³ Shahr. 143 mentions in the name of al-Warrāk (author of the *Fihrist*?) that this reply of Ja'far was transmitted by Hishām b. Sâlim (see Index) and Muhammed b. an-Nu'mân (p. 59), who strictly followed this injunction till they died.

⁴ i. e., Ali.

بِالْجَدَلِ تَرْنَدُف [7^a] وَرَوَى أَنَّ أَبَا الْهَيْذَلِ الْعَلَّافَ قَالَ [35]
 لَهُشَامُ بْنُ الْحَكَمِ¹ أَنَاظِرُكَ عَلَى أَتِّكَ إِنَّ غَلِبَتَنِي رَجَعْتُ إِلَى
 مَذْهَبِكَ وَإِنْ غَلِبَتْكَ رَجَعْتَ إِلَى مَذْهَبِي فَقَالَ هُشَامُ مَا أَنْصَفْتَنِي
 بَلْ أَنَاظِرُكَ عَلَى أَنِّي إِنَّ غَلِبْتُكَ رَجَعْتُ إِلَى مَذْهَبِي وَإِنْ غَلِبَتَنِي
 رَجَعْتُ إِلَى إِمَامِي .

5

This elimination of logic from the province of religion is complemented and justified by the claim of a higher source of knowledge, the claim of inspiration (l. 14). See on this p. 54¹⁶.

— L. 22. The Ultra-Shiites are excluded from Islam by all orthodox theologians, comp. Introduction, p. 23, l. 1-2. I. H. sees in this agreement of the orthodox the force of an "ijmâ'."

— L. 24 ff. The following significant passage was first communicated by Kremer (*Ideen*, p. 10) from the Vienna manuscript. Makr. 362⁴ ff. reproduces our passage without giving credit to its author (comp. p. 8, n. 3). Ibn Ḥazm's view on the origin of Shiitic heterodoxy is founded on the observation of the rôle played by the Persian element in the Shiitic movement, a view fully shared and frequently over-emphasized by modern scholars (see Introduction, p. 3, note 1). This view, which conveniently enough regards the introduction of "juluww" (see p. 12⁵) into Islam as a treacherous act of revenge² on the part of the subjugated nationalities, is voiced also by other Muhammedan writers, comp., e. g., the utterance of Ibn al-Athîr VIII, 21 (p. 14¹⁰) and Ijî 349. I. H. gives repeated expression to this conviction in his *Milal*, comparing the treachery of the Persians with the deceitful attitude of the Jews towards Christianity, the latter having bribed the apostle Paul to smuggle the doctrine of "guluww" into the new faith.³ Thus in the chapter dealing with Christianity (Ed. II, 38) I. H. endeavors to prove that the Apostles were infidels. "Either they sincerely and firmly believed in the divinity of Christ and "exaggerated" on his

¹ Comp. Text 53¹ and Comm.

² The expression كَيْدُ الْإِسْلَام is repeatedly found in this connection, comp. Ed. IV, 227⁵, 13 and elsewhere.

³ It is worthy of notice that I. H. repeatedly quotes the latter view as being held by the Jews of his time.

behalf, in the same way as did the Sabâ'iyya¹ and the other sects [35] of the Gâliya as regards Ali, or as the Khaṭṭâbiyya believed in the divinity of Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb (Text 69⁴), the adherents of al-Ḥallâj (Text 69¹⁶) in the divinity of al-Ḥallâj and the other infidels among the Bâtiniyya . . . , or they were seduced by the Jews, ⁵ as the latter claim, to corrupt the followers of Christ and lead them into error, in the same way as 'Abdallah b. Sabâ the Ḥimyarite, al-Mukhtâr b. Abî 'Obeid, Abû 'Abdallah al-'Ajânî, Abû Zakariya al-Khayyât, Ali an-Najjâr, Ali b. al-Faḍl al-Janadî² and the other emissaries of the Karmatians and Shiites³ ¹⁰ rose to lead into error the partisans (Shi'a) of Ali."

Next to the Persians, the largest share in the importation of heterodox doctrines into Islam is attributed to the Jews, mainly on the ground that 'Abdallah b. Sabâ (p. 18³⁶ ff.), the founder of the first Shiitic sect, is said to have been a Jew. Thus I. H., ¹⁵ in referring to the claim of the Jews regarding the apostle Paul,⁴ thoughtfully adds (I, 222): "This is something which we do not consider improbable on their part. For they tried the same thing towards ourselves and our religion, although this time they failed to carry out their cunning. I refer to 'Abdallah b. ²⁰ Sabâ known as Ibn as-Saudâ,⁵ the Jew, the Ḥimyarite—may Allah curse him!—who embraced Islam in order to lead into error as many Muslims as possible. He assumed the leadership of an ignoble party, who stood on the side of Ali, so that they might profess the divinity of Ali, in the same way as Paul ²⁵ became the leader⁶ of the followers of Christ that they might believe his divinity. These are now the Bâtiniyya and Gâliya,

¹ Cod. L. (I, 105^a) and V. (160^a) read Sabâbiyya, see p. 41¹⁷.

² See on most of these men the Index.

³ المَشَارِقَة, "proprement les Orientaux, était en Afrique le nom par lequel on désignait les Chiites" (Dozy s. v.).

⁴ How widespread this belief was can be seen from the elaborate story, given by Isfr. (71^a) and designated by him as generally known, how Paul at the instance of the Jews became a Christian, studied in the Christian monasteries and, having gained their confidence, smuggled into Christianity the belief in the Trinity, etc.

⁵ Ed. I, 222³ السوء. The correct reading in Codd. See p. 18³⁶.

⁶ Ed. 222⁵ ونهج. L. V. correctly كالذي نهج.

[35] and the least heretical among these are the Imâmiyya." See more on the relation of Judaism to Shiism, p. 19¹⁰ ff.

— L. 29. I owe the explanation of these two terms to a private communication of Professor Nöldeke: "Ibn Ḥazm's statement with reference to ^٥الأبناء and ^٥الأحرار is not quite exact. ^٥الأبناء are not the Persians as a whole, but those descendants of the Persians (mostly or wholly arabicized) who conquered Yemen at the time of the great Chosroes. In Yemen the 'Abnâ' were prominent as a class during the time of Muhammed and his immediate successors. The same name was afterwards ^{١٥}(third century H.) applied in 'Irâḳ to the descendants of the Khorasanian warriors who won the empire for the Abbasids.—^{١٥}الأحرار ('the free ones') properly designates the Persian nobles, (the *ἐλεύθεροι* of the Parthians). About 600 C. E. the poets ^{١٥}apply this name to the Persians in general, and later writers use the same appellation merely on the basis of a scholarly tradition." See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, p. 225, n. 5 and 342, n. 7.

[36] 36, l. 9. On Sunbâd (or Sinbâd) see Blochet, l. 44 f.

²⁰— Ibidem (note 2). "The form of the name is still very uncertain. I hardly believe that Ustâdsîs is correct. ^{٢٠}اسداسيس may represent many different forms of an Iranian name" (Nöldeke).

— Ibidem. On al-Muḡanna' see Comm. to p. 70⁹.

²⁵— Ibidem. On Bâbak comp. Fih. 343 f. and notes. He was crucified in Surra-man-ra'â in the year 223^b, Bagd. 107^b.

— L. 11. On Khidâsh see p. 98¹⁹. On Abû Muslim, see Index.

— L. 20-21. Comp. Introduction, p. 22¹² f. and Text, p. 79²⁰.

[37] 37, l. 2 f. *Fifty* prayers are mentioned in connection with ³⁰the Karmatians and the Nuṣeiriyya, de Sacy CLIV ult. and footnote, CLXX. This is apparently based on the Muhammedan legend according to which Allah had originally prescribed fifty prayers, but, yielding to Muhammed's presentations, reduced them to five; comp. Goldziher, *Muh. St.* I, 36.—On 'Abdallah ³⁵(l. 5) see Comm. to p. 71¹.

— L. 7. On 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, also known as Ibn as-Saudâ, see Ibn Ḥazm's utterances pp. 16²⁰, 17¹⁷ and passages in Index. The identity of Ibn as-Sabâ and Ibn as-Saudâ is assumed by all

Muhammedan scholars, except Bagd. and Isfr. Tabarî's account [37] (I 2941; comp. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 91) differs in several essential points from the reports of the theological writers. Altogether the data on this enigmatic personality are as interesting as they are conflicting; they deserve to be made the subject of special investigation. He is generally considered the founder of Shiism, and this, in connection with his Jewish origin, sufficiently explains the endeavors of the Muhammedan theologians to charge him with many a heresy which developed in the later course of Shiism. His Jewish birth was a sufficient pretext for the Sunnites to bring Shiism in connection with Judaism. We saw Ibn Hâzm's remarks p. 16 f. Kashi, in the biography of 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, p. 70, plainly says: "On account of this the opponents of the Shi'a maintain that the root of Shiism and

Râfidism (التشييع والرفض), see Appendix on Rawâfid) was taken over from Judaism." The famous theologian ash-Sha'bî (died 103) is reported to have drawn an elaborate and odious parallel between the Shiites and the Jews (*Ikḍ* 269). He says among other things, with special reference to Ibn Sabâ: "The Râfida are the Jews of this nation. They hate Islam as the Jews hate Christianity. They embraced Islam, not because they longed for it or because they feared Allah, but because they detested the Muslims and intended to overpower them."

On 'Abdallah's alleged participation in the uprising of 'Othmân see Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* VI, 124 f.—On l. 11 see p. 100.

— L. 12. On the Ismaelites see Shahr. 127, 145 f., Ijī 349, IKhald. I, 362, Dozy, *Isl.* 259 f., Kremer, *Ideen* 196 f., Müller, *Islam* I, 588 f., Blochet 54 ff.—On the various appellations of the Ismâ'iliyya see Shahr. 147⁷ ff. and Blochet 50, n. 1. See also Text 73, note 1 and Comm.

— L. 13. On the Karmatians see Dozy, *Isl.* 268 ff., Blochet 61 ff., de Boer 82 f.—A succinct presentation of their doctrine, de Goeje, *Carmathes* 166 f.

— L. 15. On Mazdak see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 455 ff.—Similarly I. H. expresses himself Ed. I, 34¹⁷: "As for the Mazdakiyya (written with ق), they are the adherents of Mazdak the Mōbad. They are those who believe in communism as to property and women. The Khur-

[37] ramiyya, the adherents of Bâbak, are one of the sects of the Mazdakiyya. They are also the secret (basis)¹ of the doctrine of the Ismâ'iliyya and their (vital) element, as well as of those who hold to the doctrine of the Karmatians and the Banû
⁵ 'Obeid (=Fatimides)."

[38] 38, l. 7 ff. The following sentences give emphatic expression to the Zâhirite conviction of the author; comp. Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 202.

— L. 15. The author has apparently in view the belief held
¹⁰ in Shiitic, as well as in certain Sunnitic quarters, that the Prophet bequeathed to 'Âisha, Fâtîma, 'Abbâs or 'Alî, respectively, some mystic lore; comp. Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 118.

— L. 18. Comp. Ed. V, 26 penult.: "It is firmly established regarding the prophet . . . that he was sent to the red and the black."

¹⁵ Comp. *Kâmil*, ed. Wright, 264⁷ وَقَوْلُ الْعَرَبِ مَا يَخْفَى ذَلِكَ عَلَى الْأَسْوَدِ وَالْأَحْمَرِ يَرِيدُ الْعَرَبِيَّ وَالْعَجَمِيَّ.

— L. 23. "As he was commanded," see Koran 5, 71.—I. H. uses the same argument *Milal* L II, 89^b (not found in Ed.)

فَإِنْ كَانَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ كَتَمَ عَنْ سَائِرِ النَّاسِ مَا عَلَّمَهُ عَلَى بْنِ
 أَبِي طَالِبٍ فَلَمْ يَبْلُغْ كَمَا أُمِرَ قَالَ تَعَالَى² لِيُتَبَيَّنَ لِلنَّاسِ مَا نَزَلَ²⁰
 إِلَيْهِمْ فَمَنْ قَالَ أَنَّهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَمْ يَبَيِّنْ لِلنَّاسِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ
 تَعَالَى إِلَيْهِ بَلْ كَتَمَهُمْ إِيَّاهُ وَخَصَّ بِهِ عَلَى بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ سِرًّا فَقَدْ
 كَفَرَ إِذْ وَصَفَ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِأَنْ عَصَى أَمْرَ رَبِّهِ
 تَعَالَى لَهُ بِالْبَيَانِ لِلنَّاسِ جِهَارًا فَبُطِلَ مَا آدَعُوهُ يَقِينًا مِنْ كُلِّ
²⁵ وَجْهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ.

[39] 39, l. 11. In accordance with his Zâhirite conviction, which strictly and exclusively adheres to the bare text of the Koran and the Hadîth, I. H. lays special emphasis on the reliability

¹ Ed. شَرُّ. L. and V. سِرُّ "the worst."

² Koran 16, 46.

of the traditionists; comp. Ed. II, 76²⁰ ff. and Kremer, *Ideen* [39] 138 ff.

40, l. 11. "The Mu'tazilites, the Khârijites, the Murji'ites [40] and the Shiites." The same enumeration of Muhammedan sects (comp. Introduction, p. 21) Ed. IV, 2¹⁶: جميع اهل الاسلام 5 من اهل السنّة والمعتزلة والنجارية (والمرجئة) والخوارج والشيعة.

— L. 15 (note 6). The words ما لا بَقِيَّةَ لَهُمْ بَعْدَهَا I interpret in the sense that nothing remains to these infidels to boast of, beyond (=except) the infamies and lies to be found in their 10 Scriptures. The reading of L. and Br. ما لا بَيِّنَةٌ بَعْدَهَا (without لَهُمْ) I would translate: "beyond which (sc. الفصائح) no proof (is needed)," i. e., the infamies in themselves are sufficient to impeach the infidels. On this meaning of بَعْد see the glossary to Tabarî, sub voce. 15

41, l. 15. Characteristic of I. H.'s truthfulness (see Intro- [41] duction, p. 15) is another utterance of his, Ed. IV, 108¹⁶: "If we thought that dishonest quoting was permissible, we should use as an argument (against the Shiites) the words reported (in the name of the Prophet): 'Follow the example of those 20 after me, viz., Abû Bekr and 'Omar.' But this (tradition) is not true, and may Allah guard us from using as an argument anything that is not true."

— L. 17 (note 7). Comp. Text 42, l. 5 and note 8. I. H. uses a very similar phraseology Ed. IV, 207¹⁹: "We have here 25 set forth the depravities of the adherents of heresy (he refers to the Murji'ites) in order to cause people to flee from them and to frighten away the illiterate among the Muslims from becoming familiar with them and from thinking well of their corrupt words."

42, l. 1 f. The heresies referred to are those of the Mu'tazi- [42] lites. They are quoted as such Ed. IV, 192 (in the chapter on the Mu'tazila).—I. H. chooses them as specimens in his introduction because, in the original disposition of the pamphlet against the four heterodox sects, which is now incorporated 35 with his *Milal*, the Mu'tazila occupied the first place. See my

[42] essay "Zur Komposition von Ibn Ḥazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihāl*" in *Orientalische Studien* I, p. 274 f.

— L. 17. See Introduction, p. 22–23.

— L. 18. On "Rawâfīd" see Appendix A.

⁵ 43, l. 1. The founder of the Jârûdiyya is called with his full
[43] name Abû'l-Jârûd Ziyâd b. al-Mundîr al-'Abdî, Masûdî V, 474,
Kashî 150, Tusy, p. 146 No. 308, Shahr. 121; Fîhr. 178¹² and
Makr. 352²⁴ assign to him the additional Kunya Abû 'n-Najm.
Muhammed al-Bâķir (died 117) called him "Surhûb," which is
¹⁰ said to designate "a blind devil dwelling in the sea" (Kashî,
Shahr. 119), because he was born blind (Fîhr., Kashî, Tusy).
The sect was accordingly called also the Surhûbiyya (Kashî).

As regards their tenets, the Jârûdiyya variously differ from the
bulk of the Zeidiyya, whom they regard as infidels. They share
¹⁵ with the latter the central doctrine that Muhammed appointed
Ali as his successor, not, as the Imâmiyya maintain, by means
of a written will which the Companions maliciously set aside,
but "by a description (of his qualities) without the mention of
his name" (Shahr.: بِالرَّصْفِ دُونَ التَّسْمِيَةِ). But they differ
²⁰ from them in that they regard the Companions as infidels
because they did not endeavor to find out the man to whom the
Prophet referred and chose a wrong one in his place. Accord-
ing to Shahr. 118, Abû'l-Jârûd went so far as even to deny the
Imamate of Zeid b. Ali, the founder of the Zeidiyya, on the
²⁵ ground that the latter considered Abû Bekr and 'Omar legi-
timate rulers. Isfr., however, (9^a ult.) insists that the recogni-
tion of Zeid as Imam is common to all Zeiditic sects without
exception. It is strange that I. H. should omit the mention of
this typical heterodoxy of the Jârûdiyya: the "Takfir as-
³⁰ Şahâba."

As to the succession in the Imamate, the Jârûdiyya agree
with the rest of the Zeidiyya that it is legitimate in the descend-
ants both of Ḥasan and Ḥusein, and in these exclusively, on
condition that they are qualified for the Imamate and present
³⁵ their claims with the sword in their hands. Of the three
Imams quoted in our passage one is a Ḥasanide, the other two
Ḥuseinides.

On the Jârûdiyya compare also the account of Bagd. 9^b.

— L. 2 (note 1). “al-Husein” is also found Shahr. 118, [43] Iji 352, Bagd. 17^b (also elsewhere) and Isfr. 12^a. It is known how frequently these two names are confounded.—Muhammed died at the hands of ‘Īsa b. Mûsa, the governor of Kufa (died 167), in 145, IKot. 192, Tab. III, 189 ff. 5

— Note 7. On Raḍwa see p. 36^s. Bagd. 17^b calls the locality حاجر (with soft ح under the line) جبل من ناحية كُجْد. See further Text 60¹⁰ and Comm.

— L. 7–8. The belief that the Imams have not died and will reappear on earth is the central tenet of the Ultra-Shi‘a, and 10 occurs, as can be seen in this treatise, in connection with nearly every one of their sects. This belief is founded on two doctrines which must have gained wide currency in heterodox Islam at a very early period: the one is the Raj‘a doctrine, the other is a doctrine derived from heterodox Christian Docetism. It is 15 necessary to gain a clear view of these two doctrines in order to grasp in its full meaning the conception which practically lies at the bottom of all Shiitic movements.

The doctrine designated as *Raj‘a* has apparently had its history and presents in consequence a complex appearance. 20 Kremer (*Culturgeschichte unter den Chalifen* II, 397), in speaking of this doctrine “which was widely current among the Shiites of the earliest period,” gives the following definition of this belief: “For a man to believe in the ‘Return’ (Raj‘a) amounted to the conviction that Ali would rise from the dead, 25 and that he himself would, after a certain period of time (as a rule, after forty days), come to life again.” According to the national dictionaries, Raj‘a signifies “the returning to the present state of existence after death, before the Day of Resurrection.” (See Lane, *sub. voce*, and the authorities quoted 30 there.) It would thus appear that this belief in returning to life after death, which was known to the Arabs as early as in the time of Ignorance (Lane, *ib.*) applied to people in general, without reference to specific personalities. Jâbir b. Yazîd al-Ju‘fi (died 128, see p. 86¹¹) believed in the Raj‘a, Muslim, 35 *Ṣaḥîḥ* (Cairo 1283) I, 51. This is more explicitly stated by

¹ The pronunciation *Rij‘a* is recorded, although not approved of, by Nawawî on Muslim’s *Ṣaḥîḥ* (Cairo 1283) I, 51.

[43] Bagd. 18^a وكان جابر بن يزيد الجعفي على هذا المذهب وكان يقول برجة الأموات الى الدنيا قبل القيامة. The poet al-Bash-shâr b. Burd (died 167) held the same belief, *Agh.* III, 24^o, and this is again explained by Bagd. 17^a إحداهما قوله يرجع (strike out يرجع) برجة الاموات الى الدنيا قبل يوم القيامة⁵ ; كما ذهب اليه اصحاب الرجعة من الرافضة كان يقول بالرجعة قبل القيامة كما كان يقولها الرجعية من الروافض. Kuthayyir (died 105) expressed on his death-bed the conviction that he would return to life after forty days on a fine horse (*Agh.* VIII, 33).¹

It seems, however, that this belief was, or became, mainly connected with certain prominent individuals who, by reason of their prominence, deserved a return to life. We find this belief repeatedly in connection with Muhammed. When Muhammed¹⁵ had died, 'Omar violently rebuked those who believed that the Prophet was dead, and he gave emphatic expression to his belief that he would "return" after forty days, "just as Moses had done," Tab. I, 1815 f., IBab., *Ithbat* 31, Bagd. 5^a (here Muhammed is compared with Jesus). 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, the founder²⁰ of Shiism (p. 18 f.), is said to have believed in the "Return" of Muhammed. Referring to Koran 28, 85,² he argued: "It is strange that people who assert that Jesus will return should deny that Muhammed will return, . . . Muhammed being worthier of returning than Jesus." "And he laid down for²⁵ them the Raj'a." Tab. I, 2941.

As a rule, the Raj'a belief is found in connection with the Imâms of the Shi'a, in the first place, of course, with *Ali*. The

¹ This form of Raj'a is probably the real basis of the belief current among the Khattâbiyya that they will never die (p. 72²⁹).—An allusion to this belief is perhaps found *Agh.* XI, 75⁵: A friend of 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya (p. 44¹¹) was called al-Baklî (p. 46⁵) لأنه كان يقول الانسان كالبقلة فاذا مات لم يرجع.

² Hallâj composed a book bearing on this verse under the title كتاب في ان الذي انزل عليك القرآن لراؤك الى معاد (*Fih.* 192¹³).

idea that Ali was hidden in the clouds, whence he would return [43] on earth, was very common in Shiitic circles (see p. 42¹⁶). The term Raj'a κατ' ἐξοχήν very frequently designates this belief; comp. *Lisân* and *Tâj al-'Arûs*, sub voce, Nawawî on Muslim, *Ṣaḥîḥ* I, 51, Kremer, *Culturgeschichte* ib. Makr. 354¹¹: الرِّجْعِيَّةُ 5 القائلون سِيرَجَع عَلَى بن ابي طالب وينتقم من أعداءه. The Muhammedan writers, with extremely few exceptions, ascribe the authorship of this belief to 'Abdallah b. Sabâ.¹ Apart from the ordinary sources, see also the interesting notice IKhall. No. 645 (p. 26³): al-Kalbî (died 146) "was one of the followers 10 of 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, who maintained that Ali had not died and would return on earth." To the references given in the course of this treatise (see p. 42 f.) may also be added Madâinî (died about 225/840), who reports that al-Ḥasan, the son of Ali, protested against the belief that God would bring Ali to life on 15 earth before the day of Resurrection (ZDMG. 38, 391). How deeply rooted this belief was in the masses may be seen from the curious anecdote narrated by 'Abdallah b. 'Abbâs (*Ikd* 269). A man called on him at a very unusual hour and asked him: "When will this man be brought to life?"—"Which 20 man?"—"Ali b. Abî Tâlib." I said: "He will not be brought to life, until God brings to life those that are in the graves." He said: "You speak like one of these fools." I said: "Take him away from me, may Allah curse him!"

Next to Ali the Raj'a occurs in connection with his son 25 Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya. It was the belief of the Keisâniyya, and its famous champions were the poets Kuthayyir and as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarî, *Agh.* VII, 24¹⁸, VIII, 32⁵, 33, 34, XI, 46⁶; see also *Fawât al-Wafayât* I, 24.² *Ikd* 268 designates

¹ On Ṭabarî's account see above. Makr. 356 ult., with characteristic eclecticism, combines both views. 'Abdallah b. Sabâ believed برجة

على بعد موته الى الدنيا وبرجة رسول الله صلعم ايضا.

² They believed at the same time in their own Raj'a, pp. 24⁸ and 26¹².—Kuthayyir, who returns from a tour in the region between Mekka and Medina, reports that he has found everything absolutely unchanged وهذا يكون حتى نرجع اليه وكان يؤمن بالرجعة. "This will remain so till we return to it (after death)." Perhaps it would be more reasonable to read يرجع and to translate "till he (Muh. b. al-Ḥanafîyya) returns to it."

[43] the belief in the "Return" of Ibn al-Hanafiyya as the belief of the Rawâfid in general.

In the later development of the Shi'a we find the Raj'a belief in connection with nearly every Shiitic Imam. Numerous instances can be gleaned from Ibn Ḥazm's and Shahrastānī's accounts on Shiism. It was the salient feature in the controversies of the Shi'a and the belief which characterized the Wākifiyya in distinction from the Kīṭṭī'iyya (p. 50).

It now remains for us to state the relation of the Raj'a doctrine to the belief in the Transmigration of Souls (Tanâsukh al-Arwâh). This relation is perhaps best illustrated by the amusing anecdote (told of as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, who believed in Raj'a as well as in Tanâsukh, l. 26 f. and p. 28²⁰). A man asked as-Sayyid for a loan of a hundred dinârs, promising to repay them when he (the debtor) should return to life. As-Sayyid answered: "Yes, and even more than that, if you will give me a guarantee that you will return as a man." He said: "How else can I return"? as-Sayyid said: "I am afraid that you will return as a dog or as a pig, and my money will be lost." (Agh. VII, 8. See the same anecdote with a few variations *Fawât al-Wafayât* I, 25). The former possibility is Raj'a, the latter Tanâsukh; in other words, Raj'a signifies the return as the same person, Tanâsukh the return as a different being. The two conceptions, though related to one another and, in consequence, often found side by side, are by no means identical and are distinctly kept asunder. Kuthayyir, as well as as-Sayyid, believed not only in Raj'a but also in Tanâsukh (Agh. VIII, 27²¹; he claims to be the Prophet Jona, ib. 34). But it is expressly stated that he believed "in Raj'a and Tanâsukh" (Agh. VIII, 27²¹). In the same way both expressions are found side by side Shahr. 125¹³, 132¹². Makr. (354⁰), who enumerates a sect of Raj'iyya (see above), mentions in the same passage التناسخية القائلون أن الأرواح تتناسخ. Ibn Bâbûye, who staunchly defends Raj'a,¹ violently rejects Tanâsukh (see p. 75¹). Only in

¹ In a special chapter on Raj'a, I'tikadat 12^b: اعتقادنا في الرجعة انها حق. He promises to write a special book on the subject which may be identical with his Ithbât al-ḡaiba. Mirza 46^b makes the Imamites respon-

a few isolated instances do the two terms seem to be used as syno- [43]

nyms. Thus IKhald. (II, 164) says *وآخرون يدعون رجعة مَنْ* "in a kind of Transmigration or in reality," i. e., returning in spirit as a different being, or as the same person. The same close contact between the two conceptions is apparently assumed, *ib.* II, 169.¹ Makr. 357⁴ contradicts his own previous statements when he says: "From him (i. e., 'Abdallah b. Sabâ) they also took over the belief in the concealment² of the Imam and the belief in his return after death on earth, in the same way as the Imâmiyya¹⁰ till this day believe it of "the man of the cellar,"³ and this is the belief in *Tanâsukh al-Arwâh*." Apart from these instances, which are otherwise not very striking, the two ideas are clearly separated from one another.⁴

ومن هَفَواتهم الحُنْثَةُ القول : *ومن هَفَواتهم الحُنْثَةُ القول : بالرجعة قال أَجَلٌ سابقهم وسَنَدٌ لآحِقهم حمد بن بابويه القُمِّي في عقائده في بَحْث الإيمان ويجب الإيمان بالرجعة فإنهم قالوا مَنْ لم يؤمن برجعتنا فليس منا واليه ذهب جميع عُلَمائهم .*

¹ The Prophet says to Ali : "Thou art its (this nation's) Du'l-Ḳarnein (Alexander the Great)." See de Slane's translation, II, 196, note 4, and Comm. p. 28, note 1 towards the end.

² I read *بغيبَة* instead of *بغِيْة*.

³ The twelfth Imam, the Mahdi.

⁴ We have dwelt on this point at some length because Wellhausen, *Opp.* 93, denies the explanation set forth above, and insists that Raj'a is originally identical with Tanâsukh, and that the meaning usually attached to it is a later development. His contention, however, practically rests on a single passage (Agh. VIII, 34) which, even if taken in Wellhausen's interpretation, cannot stand against the numerous passages to the contrary. But the passage in question does not necessarily prove Wellhausen's assertion. We are told that Kuthayyir used to give money to the little sons of Ḥasan b. Ḥasan (b. Ali; not, as Wellhausen erroneously has it, "Ḥasan and Ḥusein") and to call them "little prophets": *وكان يؤمن بالرجعة* (similarly on the same page before). Wellhausen assumes that these words are meant to explain Kuthayyir's

- [43] It can be seen from the preceding expositions that Raj'a as such leaves the question open whether the Imam had really died, or whether he had merely disappeared and abides in concealment pending his reappearance. On the strength of the instances⁵ quoted above one is inclined to assume that the former belief is the original one, while the latter is the later but the more popular one. It is in this form—as a correlative of “gaiba” (“concealment” of the Imam)—that Raj'a became a predominant factor in Shiism and still is the official belief of the Shiites of¹⁰ today.¹

action, which can only have been the outcome of his belief in the Transmigration of Souls, and that consequently the two beliefs are identical. That Kuthayyir was an adept of Metempsychosis is repeatedly stated in Agh. (see in the text above). But the construction put on the explanatory words is not irrefutable. On the same page a similar action of Kuthayyir (he hugs Mu'âwiya b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far (see p. 45), who was a schoolboy at the time, and calls him a little prophet) is recorded without the explanation appended here. The words **وكان**

يَوْمَن بِالرَّجْعَةِ may signify here as little as in the statement regarding

as-Sayyid (Agh. VII, 24¹⁸) **يشرب الخمر ويؤمن بالرجعة**. In both cases the explanatory remark may simply mean to imply that the man in question was an abominable heretic, the belief in Raj'a being regarded as a sign of extreme heterodoxy (comp. Agh. III, 24⁹). At any rate, the weight of the passage referred to by Wellhausen is largely counterbalanced by the statement, Agh VIII, 27¹, that Kuthayyir believed in “Raj'a and Tanâsukh,” where the two ideas appear as distinctly different.

¹ By way of appendix a few isolated usages of the term Raj'a may find place here. Extremely interesting, but somewhat obscure, is the passage Agh. III, 188. Omayya b. Abi Šalt, who is anxious to become a prophet, goes to Syria and repeatedly enters a church, while his companions have to wait outside. A monk who lives in that church had told him that there were to be six *Raj'ât* (see the remark on the margin of Agh.) after Jesus, of which five had already come to pass. When he comes another time, he is told by the monk: “The Raj'a has already come and a prophet has been sent from among the Arabs.” Thereupon he gives up his prophetic ambitions.—A very peculiar interpretation of the Raj'a belief is found Mirza 46^b, but, in view of the polemical tendency of his treatise, this interpretation may only reflect his own indi-

vidual conception of the Shiitic doctrine. He says: **وَمُرَادُهُمْ مِنَ**

الرَّجْعَةِ أَنْ النَّبِيَّ وَعَلِيًّا وَالْأَيُّمَةَ مِنْ وَلَدِهِ يُجَيِّونَ فِي آخِرِ الزَّمَانِ

This conception, which regards the death of the Imams as a [43] mere disappearance, indispensably needs a complement which should account for the fact of their apparent death, the more so as the Imams of the Shi'a, with scarcely any exception, all died an unnatural death. This complement is supplied by a⁵ heterodox Christian doctrine borrowed from *Docetism*.¹ It cannot be our task here to trace the influence of Docetism on Islam. But it seems highly probable that this doctrine came to the Muslims through the medium of Manichaeism, which adopted this belief and gave it a definite shape. "The Jesus of the 10 Manichaeans then had no objective reality as man. His whole human appearance, birth and baptism were a mere apparition, and so were his sufferings. For it was not he who was really crucified, but it was an emissary of the devil who tried to frustrate the instructive activity of Jesus, and who, as a punish- 15 ment for his wickedness, was fastened to the cross by Jesus himself" (Kessler, Article "Manichäer," PRE³, XII, 218. Comp. Flügel, *Mani*, 124, 336 f.).

بعد خروج المهدي وقَتَلَ الدَّجَالَ وَيُحْيِي كُلَّ مَنْ الْخُلَفَاءُ
الراشدين [47^a] وَقَتَلَةُ الْاِثْمَةُ بِالْاِجْمَالِ وَيُقْتَلُونَ هَوْلًا حَدًّا
وَقِصَاصًا ثُمَّ يَمُوتُونَ وَيُحْيَوْنَ مَرَّةً أُخْرَى وَقَدْ بَالِغَ مُرْتَضَاهُمْ فِي
الْمَسَائِلِ النَّاصِرِيَّةِ فِي هَذِهِ الْأَكَاذِيبِ الْكُفْرِيَّاتِ فَقَالَ وَيَصْلُبُونَ
شجرة.—The word is used by Ibn Ḥazm (Ed. I, 139⁵)
to indicate the return (of a nation) to its former state of power and
prosperity: وَأَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ كُلَّ أُمَّةٍ أَدْبَرَتْ فَإِنَّهُمْ يَنْتَظِرُونَ مِنَ الْعُودَةِ

وَيَمُوتُونَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ مِنَ الرَّجْعَةِ. But the word can scarcely be said to have the meaning of a technical term.—Fictitious is the meaning ascribed to the word by de Slane (*Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun* II, 196 note 5): a new period of time during which every past event will return, or repeat itself. The passage referred to proves nothing of the kind.

It merely says رَجُوعَ الْأُمُورِ إِلَى مَا كَانَتْ which has nothing to do with the term *Raj'a*. In Ibn Khaldûn's text (II, 169) the meaning of the word is probably close to that of Transmigration of Souls, see p. 27^e.

¹ On Docetism see Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (2nd ed.) I, 164, and the passages specified there in the index.

[43] This docetic belief, which afforded a satisfactory explanation of the alleged death of the Shiitic Imams, was readily adopted by the radical Shiites, and it often occurs in the very same form which Manichaeism had given it: that not the Imam was really killed, but a devil who assumed his shape (شَيْطَانٌ تَصَوَّرَ بِصُورَتِهِ).

We find this belief in connection with nearly every Imam of the Ultra-Shiites. On its application to Ali, which is undoubtedly historical, see p. 43 f. Bagd. and Isfr. mention this theory in connection with the following Imams: Ali (in the name of 10 'Abdallah b. Sabâ) Bagd. 94^a, Isfr. 55^b f.; Abû Muslim (see Index), Bagd. 100^a, Isfr. 59^a; Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan (p. 87), Bagd. 18^a f., 97^a; Hallâj (Text 69¹⁸), who is said to have stamped his features on someone else, Bagd. 102^a, Isfr. 61^b. The Imamites who believe in the "return" of the 15 twelfth Imam, the only one who was not murdered (at least according to the Imamitic belief), and therefore insist that the preceding Imams are really dead, have no room for this belief. But it can be seen from the polemics of Ibn Bâbûye that this docetic belief was widespread in Shiitic circles. After having 20 described the manner of (violent) death of the eleven Imams—a favorite topic in Imamitic works—IBab. thus sums up his position (*I'tikadat* 23^b, in the chapter *فِي نَفْيِ الْغُلُوِّ وَالتَّفْوِيضِ*):

واعتقادنا في ذلك أنه جرى عليهم على الحقيقة وأنه ما اشتبه للناس أمرهم كما يزعمه ما (مَنْ) يتجاوز الحد فيهم بل شاهدوا قتلهم على الحقيقة والصحة لا على الحسبان والخيالة 25 ولا على الشك والشبهة فمن زعم أنهم شبهوا أو واحد منهم فليس من ديننا على شيء ونحن منه براء.

This docetic belief, in conjunction with the Raj'a doctrine, enabled the Ultra-Shiites to assume a position which made them 30 practically invincible. The former made their Imams invulnerable: they were immune from death or murder. The latter made them immortal and carried over their living influence to posterity.

— L. 9. *حتى يملأ الارض عدلاً كما ملئت جوراً*. This phrase, 35 as is well known, forms a part of the Mahdî tradition, IKhald.

II, 142 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi* p. 13 ff. Apart [43] from this generally accepted form of the hadîth, we also meet

with the variant **حتى يملأ الارض قِسْطًا وعدلاً كما ملئت جوراً**

وُظْلَمًا IKhald. II, 149⁴; IBab., *Ithbat* 35, Diyârbekrî II, 288; Abu'l-Mahâsin (Leyden, 1855) I, 243⁹.¹ Bagd. repeatedly ⁵

quotes the reading **يملك** instead of **يملأ**. One might think of a scribal error. But the following story (Bagd. 96^b) makes this supposition impossible. Muġîra b. Sa'îd (p. 79 ff.) acknowledged Muhammed b. 'Abdallah as Imam. But when the latter was killed, Muġîra was cursed by his followers, who maintained ¹⁰

انه كذب في دعواه ان محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن هو المهدي الذي يملك الارض لأنه قُتل ولم يملك الارض ولا عَشَرَهَا

See also fol. 9^b and Isfr. 12^a, who gives on the same page the conventional form of the Mahdi tradition.

— L. 10. I have restored Yahya's genealogy with the help of ¹⁵ Gen. Leyd. Comp. Tab. III, 1515¹⁶ note i and 1403¹⁶ (Addit.), where the editor equally substitutes Husein (not *al*-Husein, as he expressly remarks). Iji 352¹ has Yahya b. 'Omeir.—Yahya was killed during the reign of al-Musta'in in 250^h, Tab. III, 1515 ff., Shahr. 119. The general of the Zenj (p. 98⁵) pre-²⁰ tended to be this Yahya, Tab. III, 1745³ (anno 255).

— L. 12 ff. The same fact is recorded Tab. III, 1518² **فوجه محمد بن عبد الله لحاربه (يعنى لحاربه يحيى بن عمر) الحسين بن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم بن مُصْعَب**. Muhammed b. 'Abdallah was appointed Sâhib ash-Shorṭah of Bagdad in 237^h, ²⁵ Tab. III, 1410⁸,² IKhall. No. 366 (in the biography of his brother and successor 'Obeidallah). His pedigree, as given in our text and confirmed by Tab. and IKhall. (who deals bio-

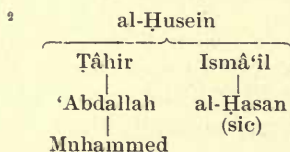
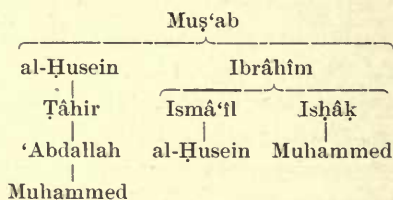
¹ Masudi V, 181 gives also the variant **كما ملئت شرّاً وجوراً**.

² This Muhammed cannot very well be identical with the one mentioned Tab. III, 1314¹¹ who died eleven years earlier. They are erroneously identified in the Tabari index. In the last mentioned passage **بن عبد الله** is to be struck out with Cod. C.

[43] graphically with everyone of his ancestors), is absolutely assured. Just as certain is the genealogy of Ḥusein b. Ismâ'il, whose uncle, Ishâk b. Ibrâhîm (l. 16), accepted a prominent post in the police of Bagdad in 207^h, Tab. III, 1062^o.¹ Under these circumstances it is difficult to account for the apposition **ابن عمه** "the son of his paternal uncle" (l. 15). Perhaps our author confounds the fact mentioned here with the one recorded Tab. III, 1405¹⁰ (anno 236), that Muhammed, the son of Ishâk b. Ibrâhîm, dispatched Ḥusein b. Ismâ'il, this time his real cousin, to put down a rebellion in Fâris. Another not impossible, though less probable, solution would be to explain **ابن عم** as a cousin of a remoter degree,—in this case a third cousin. Thus Tab. I, 510 (=IAth. I, 142) Moses is called the "amm" of Phinehas. So far the reading of L. Br.—As for the genealogy given in Ed. and the other codices,² it can scarcely be correct and seems to be an attempt to explain **ابن عم**.

[44] 44, l. 1. The genealogy as given in our text is confirmed by Gen. Leyd., Ya'qûbî II, 576, and Masudi, VII, 116. Elsewhere Muhammed's genealogy frequently appears in a mutilated shape. IKhald. I, 361 (also de Slane's translation) has one link too much (Muh. b. Kâsim b. Ali b. Ali (sic) b. 'Omar). Tab. III, 1165 and IATH. VI, 312 have one link too little (Muh. b. Kâsim b. 'Omar). Shahr. 118 penult. and Iji 352 even omit two links (Muh. b. K. b. Ali b. al-Ḥusein b. Ali b. A. T.). Muhammed was sent to prison by Mu'tasim in 219,

¹ The relation of the three men mentioned in our text presents itself as follows :



and he died there, Tab., Masudi, Shahr. According to Masudi [44] (VII, 117), there were many Zeidites at the time he was writing his history (332^b) who believed in the "return" (Raj'a) of Muhammed. His followers were especially numerous in Kufa, Ṭabaristân and Deilam.

— L. 6 ff. Ibn Ḥazm's references to the *Keisâniyya*, which are frequent, though brief, substantially enrich our knowledge of this important sect. This at once shows itself in the explanation of the name, which is the only correct one among the numerous interpretations offered by other writers. The conventional explanation derives the name from Keisân, which is declared to have been a nickname of Mukhtâr (p. 79¹⁷), so the Dictionaries: *Jauharî* (comp. IKhall. No. 570), *Kâmûs*, *Lisân* and *Tûj al-'Arûs*, sub voce كيسان; IKot. 300, IKd 269⁶, Makr. 351³ (=de Sacy II, 592), Bagd. 11^b. On the other hand, endeavors were made to connect the founder of this sect in some way with Ali, or with his son Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya, whom the Keisâniyya regard as his successor and the heir of his mystic knowledge (a point on which this sect lays great stress). As there was a *maula* of Ali named Keisân (he falls, while defending his master, in the battle of Şiffin, Tab. I, 3293 =IAth. III, 247), he was declared the founder of the Keisâniyya and the disciple of Ali, or of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya, in the lore of mysticism, see Shahr. (who distinguishes between the Keisâniyya and the Mukhtâriyya), similarly Abu'l-Maali 157, IKhall. ib. (who also quotes the preceding explanation, with the confession والله اعلم), IKhald. I, 357,¹ Makr. ib., Kremer, *Ideen* 375. An attempt to reconcile both derivations is the interpretation quoted by Bagd. (11^b) "that *Mukhtâr* acquired his heterodox opinions from a *maula* of Ali by the name of *Keisân*," or the explanation recorded by Kashi 75 that *Mukhtâr* was called *Keisân* after Ali's *maula*, "who induced him to seek revenge for al-Ḥusein's blood and pointed out to him his murderers." Closest to the facts is Masudi V, 180: "They were called Keisâniyya because of their relation to

¹ The suffix in مولاه literally refers to Muh. b. al-Ḥanafîyya, and so it is taken by de Slane, p. 403. In accordance with our expositions, however, the suffix must be referred to Ali, who is mentioned a little earlier.

[44] al-Mukhtâr b. Abî 'Obeid ath-Thaḡafi, whose name was Keisân and whose kunya was Abû 'Omra . . . *Some of them, however, hold that Keisân Abû 'Omra is not identical with al-Mukhtâr*" (he refers for further information to his Maḡâlât).

⁵ The only correct explanation is the one offered by Ibn Ḥazm (here and Text, p. 77¹⁰), who designates Keisân Abû 'Omra as the *follower* (ṣāḥib) of Mukhtâr. The person referred to is Keisân, the chief of Mukhtâr's body-guard, Tab. II, 671¹ (= I Ath. IV, 187).¹ He was a maula of the 'Oreina, a clan of the
¹⁰ Southern Bajila (Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, 9¹⁶), and stood at the head of the Mawâli. As the latter were the main actors in Mukhtâr's uprising (comp. especially the characteristic notice Tab. II, 651²), the sect, which first asserted itself on this occasion, received its name (perhaps as a nomen odiosum) from the
¹⁵ leader of the Mawâli.²

So far the name of the sect. As for its tenets, they contain elements both of the Zeiditic and the Imamitic creed, a circumstance which renders the classification of the Keisâniyya within the bipartite division of Shiism extremely difficult. Their cardinal doctrine is the recognition of the Imamate of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya. But while agreeing with the Zeidiyya in rejecting the strictly legitimate principle in the Imamate and basing the claims of the Imam on his personal qualifications,³ they strongly emphasize with the Imâmiyya his supernatural knowledge of mystic lore.⁴ In consequence of this ambiguous position, the theologians often count the Keisâniyya as an independent sect, on an equal footing with the Zeidiyya and Imâmiyya, thus, e. g., Shahr. 109, Bagd. 9^b, Isfr. 7^a. The latter two, however, become unfaithful to their own classification and occasionally

³⁰ reckon the Keisâniyya among the Imâmiyya: *والكيسانية يُعَدُّون* في الإمامية Isfr. 14^b (the same Bagd.). I. II., too, appears to

¹ Kashi 75 strangely misses the point when he states that Mukhtâr was called Keisân "after his ṣāḥib ash-Shorṭah whose kunya was Abû 'Omra and whose name was Keisân." See his other explanation above.

² Comp. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 89, and the footnote.

³ Ibn Ḥazm can scarcely be correct when he incidentally remarks (Ed. IV, 103⁴) that according to the Keisâniyya, Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya was Imâm through a written statement (النص).

⁴ Van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, p. 41-42.

waver on this point.¹ While in our passage he expressly [44] designates them as a branch of the Zeidiyya—and he is the more justified in doing so, as, in distinction from all other writers, he regards as the cardinal doctrine of the Zeidiyya the recognition of the Imamate in all the descendants of **Ali** (not Fâtima),²— 5 he counts them repeatedly (Text 45¹⁴, 53¹², 54¹¹) among the sects of the Imâmiyya.

After the death of Muh. b. al-Ḥanafiyya, the Keisâniyya fell asunder into a number of factions. The most important of these was the *Hâshimiyya*, which transferred the Imamate to his son 10 Abû Hâshim and considered him the heir of his father's mystic knowledge, Shahr. 112. Abû Hâshim having died without offspring, the Hâshimiyya were again divided into a large number of factions, which assigned the Imamate to various pretenders. Only a fraction of the Keisâniyya, stimulated 15 by the mystery that surrounded Muh.'s death,³ denied his death altogether, and believed that he was hidden in the Raḍwa mountains, whence he would "return." This belief, as is well-known, found its poetical expression through Kuthayyir and as-Sayyid, and became through them known as specific- 20 ally Keisanitic.⁴ A notice by Bagd. (11^b) has luckily preserved

ثم افترق الذين
قالوا بامامة محمد بن الحنفية فزعم قوم منهم يُقال لهم
الكربية اصحاب ابي كرب الضريز ان محمد بن الحنفية حتى لم
يمت 25 وانه في جبل رَضَوَى وعنده عين من الماء وعين من
العسل يأخذ منهما رزقه وعن يمينه أسد وعن يساره نمر⁵

¹ See Introduction, p. 23.

² See Introd., p. 23, and Text, p. 75⁷⁻⁸, 58¹¹ and Comm.

³ The year of his death fluctuates between 80 and 114! See IKot. 111, Masudi V, 267, IKhall. No. 570, and especially Nawawî, *Tahdîb* 113. The same uncertainty exists as regards the place of his death. See the above-mentioned sources and Barbier de Meynard in *Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 165.

⁴ The dogmatic historians are very well aware of these differences within the Keisâniyya. See also Istakhrî 21 (=IḤaukal 28), Yâḩûṭ II, 790²⁰, Masudi V, 180.

[44] يحفظانه من اعدائه الى وقت خروجه وهو المهدي المنتظر
Similarly Isfr. 10^a.¹

The Raḍwa mountain (or rather mountains) is situated at a distance of seven days from Medina, Yakut II, 790. It was
5 considered extremely fertile, and was believed to be one of the mountains of Paradise.²

The individual traits, with which the belief in Ibn al-Ḥana-
fiyya's sojourn in Raḍwa has been embellished, are properly intel-
ligible only when we bear in mind their origin, as well as the
10 origin of the underlying conception, which is no other than the Messianic idea. On the overwhelming influence of this idea over Islam, see de Sacy XXXI ff., van Vloten, *Chitisme* 54 ff. and my essay "Die Messiasidee im Islam" (in *Festschrift zum*
siebzigsten Geburtstage A. Berliner's, Frankfurt a. M. 1903, pp.
15 116-130, especially 121 ff. and 127). This influence also shows itself in numerous minor details which the Muhammedan theologians, being unaware of their origin, were bound to misunderstand, and which they in consequence purposely modified. A striking example of this tendency is offered, in our opinion, by
20 the detail, also recorded by I. H., that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was surrounded by beasts of prey. The original significance of this conception can scarcely be doubtful when examined in the form in which it appears in a poem of as-Sayyid (Agh. VII, 4). In view of the importance of the question, I quote the decisive
25 verses in the original, adding the vowels and a translation:

¹ Makr. 352¹ says briefly *وقالت الكربية اتباع ابي كرب بأن ابن*

الحنفية حتى لم يمت وهو الامام المنتظر. Still briefer Abu'l-Maali
158 *الكربية اصحاب ابي كرب الضير*.—Is this Abû Karb, of whom nothing else is known, identical perhaps with *ابو الكروس*, whom Ali banished for his extravagant doctrines, Ikd 269 ?

² Interesting in this connection is Burton's remark (*Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Mecca*, ed. 1898, I, 222): "I heard much of its valleys and fruits and bubbling springs, but afterward I learned to rank these tales with the superstitious legends attached to it. Gazing at its bare and ghastly heights, one of our party, whose wit was soured by the want of fresh bread, surlily remarked that such a heap of ugliness deserved ejection from heaven, an irreverence too public to escape general denunciation."

[44] سِنِينَ وَأَشْهُرًا وَيَرَى بَرَصَوَى * بِشَعْبٍ بَيْنَ أَنْهَارٍ وَأَسَدٍ
 مُقِيمٌ بَيْنَ آرَامٍ وَعَيْنٍ * وَحَفَّانُ تَرُوحٍ خِلَالِ زُبْدٍ
 تُرَاعِيهَا السَّبَاعُ وَلَيْسَ مِنْهَا * مُلَاقِيَهُنَّ مُفْتَرِسًا بِحَدِّ
 أَمِنَ بِهِ الرَّدَى فَرَتَعْنَ طَوْرًا * بِلَا خَوْفٍ لَدَى مَعَى وَوَرْدٍ

“Years and months (has Ibn al-Hanafiyya been hidden). But ⁵ he can be seen in Radwa in a glen among leopards and lions. He resides between land marks (?),¹ while big-eyed kine and the young ones of ostriches walk about at evening tide in the company of speckled goats. Together with them graze beasts of prey. Yet none of them attacks them to tear them with the ¹⁰ point (of their teeth?). They (the tame animals) are through him² secure from destruction, and they feed together without fear on the same meadow and at the same drinking place.”

There is no need to prove that this description is a reflex of the Messianic prophecy Isa. 11, and the parallel is far more striking when we take into consideration the orthodox Muhammedan belief that at the end of Time, when Jesus shall have re-appeared and introduced the Golden Age, “lions and camels, tigers and oxen, wolves and lambs will graze peacefully together, and boys will play with snakes without danger.”³ This original ²⁰ idea of the eternal peace extending over the wild animals can still be discerned in I. H.’s words, if we vocalize (Ed. IV, 179²¹)

عَنْ يَمِينِهِ أُسْدٌ وَعَنْ يَسَارِهِ نَمْرٌ and thus read the plural, which is also found in as-Sayyid’s poem (first line of our quotation).⁴ In any event, the Messianic character of this conception was ²⁵ misunderstood. The wild animals were taken to be the guardians of Ibn al-H. The plural was accordingly substituted by

¹ Comp. Lane s.v. ⁵أَرَمَ.

² Through Muh. b. al-H. If the suffix referred to شَعْبٍ, we should expect فِيهِ, not بِهِ. [See, however, p. 38, n. 1.]

³ Snouck-Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi*, p. 9.

⁴ In our translation, p. 44¹⁰ f., we have followed the ordinary conception.

[44] the singular, and in explanation the dual **يُحَفِّظَانِهِ** was added, which gives an entirely different appearance to the whole description, thus, e. g., Shahr. 111 penult., *Fawât al-Wafayât* I, 24, Bagd. 11^b, Isfr. 10^a.

5 The other details recorded in this paragraph equally show traces of the Messianic idea.

“Conversing with angels” (l. 11) has its source apparently in the words of as-Sayyid (*Agh.* VIII, 32, Masudi V, 183)

تُرَاجِعُهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ الْكَلَامَا. The Messiah residing in Paradise

10 (comp. *Bet Hamidrash*, ed. Jellinek II, 29), he naturally holds intercourse with the angels.

L. 12 apparently rests on as-Sayyid’s verse **يَا ابْنَ الرِّسُولِ**

وَأَنْتَ حَتَّى تُرَزَّقَ Masudi V, 183, Dahabî, *Ta’rîkh al-Islâm* VII.¹

Here the original conception obviously is that the Messiah gets
15 his food from the outside. I. H.’s words remind one vividly of I Kings 17, 6.

Another form of this conception which strongly indicates Messianic influence is that which makes Ibn al-H. derive his sustenance from two fountains, one of honey, the other of water,
20 both flowing near him. Bagd. 11^b (and Isfr. 10^a): **عَيْنٌ مِنَ الْمَاءِ**

عَيْنَانِ, **وَعَيْنٌ مِنَ الْعَسَلِ يَأْخُذُ مِنْهُمَا رِزْقَهُ**, Shahr. 111:

نَضَاحَتَانِ تَجْرِيَانِ بِمَاءٍ وَعَسَلٍ, comp. *Fawât* I, 24. This statement is probably derived from a Keisanite poem which is generally assigned to Kuthayyir, *Agh.* VIII, 32, Masudi V, 182,
25 Shahr. 111, IKhald. I, 358.² The real character of this conception

¹ Ms. Strassburg (Spitta No. 12), in the biography of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya. The Ms. is not paginated.—Comp. Yâḩût II, 790²⁰

حَتَّى مَقِيمٌ (**حَتَّى يُرَزَّقَ**). Istakhrî 21 (=IHauḩal 28) only has **حَتَّى مَقِيمٌ**.
25

² Only IBab., *Ithbat* 32, ascribes it to as-Sayyid. Similarly *Agh.* VII, 10, contrary to VIII, 32, and omitting the decisive verse,

تَغَيَّبَ لَا يُرَى عَنْهُمْ زَمَانًا * **بِرِضْوَى بَيْنَ عَسَلٍ وَمَاءٍ**

Just what considerations led Barbier de Meynard (*Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 247) to decide in favor of as-Sayyid’s authorship is difficult to understand.

is revealed in the undeniably older form which is preserved [44]

Bagd. 94^b. 'Ibn as-Saudâ (p. 18⁸⁰) is quoted as saying: **وَاللَّهِ**

لَيَنْبَغَنَّ لِعَلِيٍّ فِي مَسْجِدِ الْكُوفَةِ عَيْنَانِ تُفِيضُ أَحَدَاهُمَا عَسَلًا

وَالْأُخْرَى سَمْنًا وَيَغْتَرَفُ مِنْهُمَا شِيعَتُهُ¹ to which assertion Bagd.

reasonably replies (95^a) **وَقَدْ مَاتَ ابْنُهُ الْحُسَيْنُ وَاعْحَابُهُ بِكَرْبَلَاءَ** 5

عَطَشًا وَلَمْ يَنْبَغْ لَهُمْ مَاءٌ فَضَلًّا عَنْ عَسَلٍ وَسَمْنٍ.

This "honey and butter" which is the food of the Messias seems nothing but the **חֶמְצָה ודבש** which, according to Isaiah's prediction (7, 22), "everyone shall eat that is left in the land." It is but natural that to Kuthayyir, who was at home in Najd¹⁰ and Hijâz,² water appeared a more appropriate article of food than butter (or cream), which was accessible to every Bedouin,³ the more so, since the Raḍwa mountains were believed to be very rich in water.

— L. 16. Mûsa b. Ja'far, with the by-name al-Kâzim, was¹⁵ born 129 and died between 183–186, IKhall. No. 756, Tab. III, 649, see also ib. 2509. He was imprisoned by the Caliph Mahdi and, having been released for a time, again imprisoned by Rashîd. It is assumed that he was poisoned in prison, IKhall. ib., Shahr. 127. He was buried in the Kureish ceme-²⁰

tery (في مقابر قريش) in Bagdad, and his grave was still visited

by pilgrims in the time of Baḡdâdî: **مَشْهَدُ مُوسَى بْنِ جَعْفَرٍ**
(Bagd. 19^a). **مَعْرُوفٌ فِي الْجَانِبِ الْغَرْبِيِّ مِنْ بَغْدَادِ يُزَارُ**

إذا نزل (يعني عليًا) من السماء يُفْتَحُ لَهُ فِي مَسْجِدِ

الْكُوفَةِ عَيْنَانِ إِحْدَاهُمَا مِنَ الْعَسَلِ وَالْأُخْرَى مِنَ السَّمْنِ [وهو add]
وشيعته يأكلان منها (منهما).

² Kuthayyir lived mostly in Medina; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arab. Litt.* I, 48. His poems are innumerable times quoted by Yâḡût as *loci probantes* for localities of that district.

³ This also would speak in favor of Kuthayyir's authorship of that poem. As-Sayyid lived mostly in large cities, Brockelmann I, 83.

[44] The sect which recognizes Mûsa as Ja'far's successor in the Imamate, his elder brother Ismâ'il having died before his father, are called the *Mûsawiyya* (موسويّة or موسويون), Shahr. 126, Bagd. 19^a, Isfr. 13^b, IHaukal 65²¹ and others. After his death his followers still denied that he was dead and believed in his "return."¹ They were for this reason designated by a more comprehensive term as the Wâkifa or Wâkifiyya (see p. 51), Shahr. 127; IBab., *Ithbat* 36.² Probably in consequence of their having been deceived in this expectation, the Mûsawiyya were branded by their opponents as the Mamtûra: "those that were rained upon." "The belief of the Wâkifiyya attaches to Mûsa b. Ja'far. They are identical with the Mamtûra, and it is by this name that this party is known in distinction from other sects of the Shiites" (Masudi VII, 117). Zeid. says similarly (fol. 104^a):

وَصِنْفٌ آخَرٌ مِنَ الرِّوَاغِضِ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ مُوسَى
وَقَفُوا عَلَى مُوسَى وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّ مُوسَى حَيٌّ لَمْ يَمُتْ وَلَا يَمُوتُ حَتَّى
يَمْلَأَهَا (يَعْنِي الْأَرْضَ) عَدْلًا كَمَا مُلِئَتْ جَوْرًا وَيُقَالُ لَهُمُ الْوَاقِفَةُ
وَالْمِطْوَرَةُ. See also Kashi 287, bottom. According to Shahr., this nickname was coined by Ali b. Ismâ'il (p. 60^e), who said
to them

كَانَ مِنَ الْقَطِيعِيَّةِ وَنَظَرَ بَعْضُ الْمَوْسَوِيَّةِ
فَقَالَ فِي بَعْضِ كَلَامِهِ أَنْتُمْ أَهْوَنُ عَلَى عَيْنِي مِنَ الْكِلَابِ الْمِطْوَرَةِ
Isfr. again ascribes this utterance to the well-known Shiite Zurâra b. A'yun.

¹ Kashi 286 tells a story which satisfactorily accounts for the rise of this belief. Two trustees of Mûsa, who were in charge of a fund of 30,000 dinârs consisting of taxes that belonged to Mûsa, had squandered the money while the latter was in prison. When Mûsa died, the trustees, fearing the claims of his heirs, denied Mûsa's death, and endeavored to spread the belief in his "return."

² The opposition of the "Twelvers" to this belief vented itself in the invention of utterances, usually put into the mouth of Ja'far, which violently protest against the Mûsawiyya doctrine. Some very characteristic specimens may be found in Kashi 284-288.

³ One of Mûsa's adherents, Fih. 220; comp. Tusy, p. 366 f.

— L. 20. The name of this sect is spelt *الناوسية* and [44] *الناوسية*. Shahr. 126 is in doubt as to whether this name is derived from a man *ناوس* or a place *ناوسا*.¹ The other sources have nothing to offer on the subject. The reading *al-Baṣrī* (instead of *al-Miṣrī*) adopted in our text is, apart from general 5 considerations, confirmed by the notice Isfr. 13^a: *الناوسية وهم أتباع رجل من اهل البصرة وكان يُنسب الى ناوس كان هنالك*.

The meaning of the last words is not quite clear to me. *ناوس* is a vault, especially a sepulchral vault (Dozy, s. v.).²

—L. 21. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq was born 80 or 83 and died in 10 Medina in 148 during Maṣṭūr's reign; IKhall. No. 130; Nawawī, *Tuhfah*, p. 195; see also Blochet 12. Ja'far occupies a central position among the Imams of the Shi'a. His authority is considered final. See on this unique position of Ja'far pp. 79¹, 89² and Index.

45, l. 1. On Ismā'il, see Index.

15

[45]

—Ibidem. The reading *Sabābiyya* (note 1) is frequently to be met with in MSS. See, e. g., Text, p. 71, note 13; Comm. p. 27, n. 2; Tab. III, 29, note k; Lubb. al-Lubāb s. v. *السبابة* note d; the examples can be easily multiplied. The manuscripts 20 of Bagd. and Isfr., which bestow great care on the diacritical points, consistently read the same way. This coincidence cannot be accidental. The reading is satisfactorily accounted for when we bear in mind that the characteristic and most objectionable feature of Shiism, in the eyes of the orthodox, is the 25 *سبّ الصحابة* "the denunciation of the Companions," especially

¹ Yakut IV, 733 mentions a place *ناوس الطّبية*, near Hamadan. It is difficult to state whether this is the place to which Shahr. refers.

² Is *طائوس* mentioned among the celebrities of the Imāmiyya Shahr. 145 identical with our *ناوس*?—Tusy, p. 186 (No. 400), says of a certain 'Abdallah b. Aḥmad b. Abī Zeid al-Anbarī *وكان مقيما بواسط*

من الشيعة Fih. 198⁴ reads instead *من الشيعة*. وقيل أنه كان من *الناوسية* *البابوشية*. But the reading *الناوسية* is no doubt correct, as immediately afterwards a man is mentioned who also belonged to the party of Ja'far.

[45] of Abû Bekr and 'Omar. Attachment to Ali without this denunciation is ^ستشيع حسن^س, Goldziher, *Shi'a* 443, n. 3, comp. ZDMG. 50, 115. See Text 72, n. 2, and the characteristic anecdote, below p. 65. Typical is also the notice Agh. XI, 46^e: The
 5 Keisânite Khandak al-Asadî, having been assured by Kuthayyir that his family would be taken care of, denounces in Mekka, during the pilgrimage, Abû Bekr and 'Omar and suffers martyrdom for it. The Sunnites therefore designate the Shiites as Sabbâbûn, "denouncers", Goldziher, ZDMG. 36, 280, n. 1.
 10 As the name Sabâiyya is frequently applied to ultra-Shiitic sects in general (p. 100), it was for polemical purposes, with a slight change in the diacritical points, transformed into Sabâbiyya, or more correctly, Sabbâbiyya.¹

—L. 2. On Ibn Sabâ, see p. 18³⁶ ff.

15 —L. 3. The belief that Ali was hidden in the clouds whence he would return on earth is ascribed by all theological writers (Shahr. 132 ult.; Ijî 343; Makr 357¹; see also IKhald. I, 358) to Ibn Sabâ. While many, or most, doctrines attributed to this founder of Shiism are apocryphal or of later origin, *this* belief
 20 is no doubt authentic. This conception must have become extremely popular among the Shiites at an early period, as numerous early authorities bear witness to it. Muslim, *Ṣaḥîḥ* (Cairo 1284^b, I, 51) in the name of Sufyân (ath-Thaurî, died 161): انّ الرافضة تقول انّ عليّا في السحاب. Zeid. fol. 104^a

25 *فَصَنَّفَ مِنَ الرِّوَاظِ* as-Sahâbiyya *يُقَالُ لَهُمُ السَّحَابِيَّةُ وَهُمْ يَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا حَيٌّ لَمْ يَمُتْ يَسُوقُ*
العرب والعجم بعصاه وهم يزعمون انّ عليّا في السحاب. Abu'l-Maali 158 calls the founder of this sect Muhammed b. Ya'kûb *اليعقوبية احباب محمد بن يعقوب ايشان گويند علي هرگاه*

¹ Curiously enough there was also a sect called Sabbâbiyya, named after Sabbâb, a client of the Omeyyad family, which throughout the Omeyyad reign stood up for this dynasty and denounced its enemies, *Agh.* XIV, 162.—A certain 'Abdallah b. Sabbâb is mentioned Ikd 269, immediately after 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, as one whom Ali banished for his extravagant doctrines. But I have nowhere found any reference to this person.

در میان ابر بدنیا آید. ‘Abdallah b. Lahī‘a, the well-known [45] Shiitic traditionist (died 174), “who was a silly, weak-minded old man, believed that Ali was in the clouds. He would sit in our midst, then look up to the clouds and exclaim: ‘Here is Ali, passing in the clouds!’” (IKhald. II, 155, quoting from ⁵ an-Nasā‘î, died 757^h). The poet Ishāk b. Suweid al-‘Adawī¹ ridicules in a much-quoted poem² “the people who greet the clouds when they mention Ali.” This belief spread the more easily, as Ali’s grave was unknown,³ Damirī, *Hayāt al-Hayawān* (Būlāḡ 1284^h) II, 267. According to Ibn Asākir (died 571),⁴ ¹⁰ the camel which was carrying Ali’s body to Medina to be buried there disappeared with the body: “for this reason the people of ‘Irāk say he is in the clouds.”

On the Messianic basis of this conception, see my essay “Die Messiasidee im Islam,” p. 125. 15

—L. 9 ff. This utterance of Ibn Sabā is in all probability derived from the anecdote told by Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (Cairo 1313^h) II, 73,⁵ on the authority of ash-Sha‘bī (d. 103). A certain Jarīr b. Keis met Ibn as-Saudā (=Ibn Sabā) in Madāin.⁶ “He (Ibn Sabā) said: What is the news? I said: the Commander ²⁰ of the Faithful (=Ali) has been killed . . . He said: Even if you had brought us his brain in a hundred bags, we would surely know that he would not die till he should drive you with his stick.” Bagd. 94^a tells the same story, perhaps drawing

from the same source, in a similar manner: ²⁵ وقد روى عن عامر ابن شراحيل الشعبي ان ابن سبا قيل له ان عليا قد قتل فقال

¹ Bagd. 94^b, 43^a العدري. He was a contemporary of Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭa, ib.

² Bagd. ib.: Isfr. 29^b; *Kāmil* ed. Wright 546^g; Ikd 267.

³ The Imamites, however, insist that he was buried in قري in Kufa, Abu'l-Maali, 164; IBab., *I'tikadat* 22^b. Their motive is plain, see p. 30¹⁴.

⁴ Quoted by Suyuṭī, *Ta'riḡh* 175, also by ad-Dimishqī al-Ḳaramānī, *Akhbār ad-Duwal* (on the margin of I. Athīr's *Ta'riḡh*, Bulak, 1290^h) I, 221¹.

⁵ I. H. quotes Jāḥiẓ also Text 50^g and elsewhere.—The passage in *Bayān* was pointed out to me by the late van Vloten, Leyden.

⁶ Ali banished Ibn Sabā to Madāin, Shahr. 132, Ikd 269, Bagd. 6^b, 94^a.

لَهُ لَنْ (لَكِنَّ) جَعَلُونَا بَدْمَاغَهُ فِي صِرَّةٍ لَمْ نَصَدَّقْ بِمَوْتِهِ [45]

لَآئِهْ لَا يَمُوتُ حَتَّى يَنْزِلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ وَيَمْلِكُ الْأَرْضَ بِحَذَائِيرِهَا

The reading adopted in the text (note 6) is in accordance with these quotations.

- ⁵ On the two doctrines (Raj'a and Docetism) underlying Ibn Sabā's utterance, see p. 23 ff.

—L. 12 ff. The following are counted among the Keisāniyya, because they regarded their Imams as the successors of Abū Hāshim, the son of Muhammed b. al-Hanafīyya (p. 89¹).

- ¹⁰ —L. 13. On Abū Muslim, see Index.

—L. 15 ff. 'Abdallah rose under the last Omeyyad Caliph in 127, see the elaborate accounts of Agh. XI, 66 ff.; Tab. II, 1879 ff.; IATH. V, 246. He was forced to give up Kufa and to retreat into the mountains of Media. He was in temporary pos-
¹⁵ session of the province of Fāris, and—this is significant in connection with l. 16—the mountains of Iṣbahān. He went so far as to strike his own coins (ZDMG. 46, 443). He was killed in 129 by order of Abū Muslim, Tab. II, 1976=IATH. V, 282. See about him also Text 71¹⁴.—Gen. Leyd. has the following notice about

²⁰ him: (read قَبَضَ) عبد الله الشاعر الخطيب المترسل قبض عليه ابو مسلم صاحب الدولة العباسية وحبسه بهرة وقيل (read وَقْتَلُ) بها وَقَبْرُهُ بِمَوْضِعٍ يُقَالُ لَهُ تَهْنَدُسُ (sic) مِنْ هَرَاةٍ وَكَانَ لَهُ وَلَدٌ وَانْقَرَضَ.

His followers were called Janāhiyya, Bagd. 97^b, 103^b; Isfr. ²⁵ 57^{a 1}; Iji 345; Makr. 353¹¹, because his father² Mu'awiya bore the by-name Dū'l-Janāheīn, see especially Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 339.

On the Inamate of the descendants of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib see I. H.'s remark (Ed. IV. 90¹⁰): "one party says: the

¹ The text is corrupt أنْبَاعُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْمَغِيرَةِ (sic) بْنُ أَبِي (sic) جَعْفَرِ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو.

² On the sects deriving their name from the father's name of the founder see Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75, n. 2.

Imamate is permissible only in the descendants of Ja'far¹ b. Abî [45] Tâlib. Subsequently they confined it to 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya b. Abdallah b. Ja'far b. A. T."

His father Mu'âwiya² must already have enjoyed a similar distinction. When he still was a school boy, the Keisanite—this is important on account of l. 14—Kuthayyir would hug him fondly and say to him: "Thou art one of the little prophets" (Agh. VIII, 34, see p. 27, note 4.)

—L. 20. 'Abdallah's teachings as described by Bagd., Iji and Makr. are in the nature of other ultra-Shiitic doctrines: God's³ successive incarnation in the prophets and Imams, the belief in Transmigration of Souls coupled with the denial of Resurrection (see p. 74) and the allegorical interpretation of the Koran, Iji, Makr.=de Sacy II, 595.

¹ Ed. erroneously Ali. Cod. L. II, 86^a has the correct reading.

² Interesting is the remark of Sibṭ, Imams: (read ⁵احدا) ولم يسمّ احدا

من بنى هاشم ولده معاوية الآ عبد الله بن جعفر فهجرة بنو هاشم لذلك ولم يعتدل (يعتدل read) عليه احد منهم الآ انقرض بل له بقية من .—Of his offspring Gen. Leyd. says: ولده باصبهان وغيرها من الجبال ورأيت مع الصوفية رجلاً صوفياً ولد في اصبهان . . . يذكر انه من ولد محمد بن صالح بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر ولم يتسع لي الزمان في مسئلته عن سلفه وما بقي من اهل هذا البيت.

وزعم انه هو الامام بعد عليّ وأولاده من صلبه ³Bagd. 97^b فبايعوه على امامته ورجعوا الى الكوفة وحكوا لأتباعهم ان عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر زعم انه ربّ وان روح الإله كانت في آدم ثم في شيث ثم دارت في الانبياء Here the text

breaks off. Between 97^b and 98^a something (in all probability one leaf) is missing. This is to be added to Ahwardt's Catalogue No. 2800. On this doctrine of successive incarnation see Text 68ⁱ and Comm.

[45] On the belief in 'Abdallah's concealment (gaiba) in the mountains of Iṣbahān see especially Ijī (who writes اصفهان) and Isfr. 57^a.

— L. 22. On the Dahriyya see de Boer 80.—One of his 5 table companions was called al-Baḳlī, because he was of the opinion that man is like a vegetable (al-baḳl) "and when he dies, he does not return (on earth)", see p. 24, n. 1, Agh. XI, 75. 'Abdallah's Ṣāhib ash-Shorṭah is said to have been a Dahrite, ibidem.

10 46, l. 2 ff. The same belief of the Jews in four Immortals [46] is mentioned by I. H., Ed. I, 187, in a brief survey on Jewish history. After Joshua it was Phinehas who ruled over the Jews for twenty-five years. "A large section of them (the Jews) maintain that he is alive till this day, he and three per- 15 sons besides him, viz., Ilyās (Elijah) the Prophet, the Aronide,² Malkiṣideḳ³ b. Fālig⁴ b. 'Ābir [b. Shālih]⁵ b. Arfaḥshād b. Sām b. Nūḥ, the servant whom Ibrāhīm dispatched to woo Ribkā,⁶ the daughter of Batūil,⁷ the son of Nākhār, the brother of Ibrāhīm."

20 In our passage (p. 46, note 1) L. Br. also add the name of Methuselah. But it is clear from the parallel quoted here that the name came in by mistake.⁸

As to the four others above-mentioned, there can scarcely be any doubt that, as far as Malchizedek is concerned, I. H. con-

¹ The following variants are taken from Codd. L. and V.—L. agrees with Ed. See Introd., p. 18.

² V. missing. See p. 47²⁰.

³ V. missing.

⁴ Ed. فالج, L. V. فالغ.

⁵ V. دن مالح (sic). Ed. L. missing. Supplied in view of Gen. 10, 24.

⁶ So L. V.—Ed. رفقة.

⁷ L. V. بثوال.

⁸ Methusalem is reputed in Jewish tradition as a צדיק גמור "a perfectly righteous man," *Abot di R. Nathan*, ed-Schechter, ch. 32, and he is counted among the seven Long-lived, Baba Bathra, fol. 121^b, comp. Goldziher, *Kitāb al-Mu'ammarn*, p. XLII. But this has nothing to do with immortality. Perhaps he is confounded here with his father Enoch.

found the Jews with the Christians. M.'s immortality is taught [46] as early as in the Epistle to the Hebrews 1, 8; 7, 3 ff., and it is known from the polemics of the Church fathers to what extent this belief, which found expression in a special sect called Malchizedekites, was spread among Christian sectarians. 5

The genealogy of M. as given by I. H. (and other writers) is only a modification of the early Jewish tradition (also recorded by the Church fathers) which identifies him with Sem, the son of Noah; see Louis Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern* I, 118, II, 104. 10

Eliezer, "the servant of Ibrâhîm," is mentioned among the nine Immortals who entered Paradise while still alive, *Derekh Eres Zûta*, ch. 1. It is worthy of notice that in neither passage is Eliezer mentioned by name. He was probably designated in Jewish circles merely as עֶבֶר אֲבִירָה. 15

Elijah's immortality, which is, of course, a direct consequence of the Biblical report, is already implied in Sirach 48¹⁰⁻¹¹. On the Rabbinical legends clustering around Elijah see the exhaustive article (by Louis Ginzberg) in *Jewish Encyclopedia* V, 122 ff.—The notion that he was a Kôhen, "an Aronide," is 20 very old and already known to the Church fathers, *Jew. Enc.* V, 122^a bottom; Ginzberg, *Die Haggada* II, pp. 76-80.

Phinehas is in Jewish tradition commonly identified with Elijah. This identification is very old and already known to Origen, Ginzberg, *Die Haggada* II, p. 78. 25

— Note 7, l. 2. Read وعقلسيز "brainless" (Turkish).

— L. 8. The literature on al-Khaḍîr is too extensive to be recorded here in detail. The best accounts on the Khaḍîr legends are found in Tha'labî's 'Arâis (Cairo 1306^b), p. 137 ff., Damîrî, *Hayât al-Hayawân* (Bûlâk 1284^b) I, 338 ff. (sub voce 30 حوت موسى) and *Tâj al-'Arûs* III, 187 (sub voce الخضر). The ubiquitous prophet is particularly popular with the Şûfis (see espec. *Tâj* ib.), just as Elijah is with the Jewish mystics. The famous Şûfî Ibn al-'Arabî (died 638^h)—to quote one instance out of many—records in his *al-Futûhât al-Makkiyya* numerous 35 conversations with al-Khaḍîr, Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 103, comp. p. 71 note.

The Shiitic sects which believe in the "concealment" and "return" (ġaiba and raj'a, p. 28) of their Imams quote in con-

[46] firmation of their belief the continued existence of al-Khaḍir and Elijah, Shahr. 131, IKhald. I, 358.

— L. 10. Elijah is usually associated with deserts and ruins, see, e. g., Pirke Aboth, ch. 6, Berakhoth 3^a, Sanhedrin 98^a.—⁵ al-Khaḍir (“the green Prophet”) is, on account of his name, brought in connection with water and vegetation.

— L. 13. The same objection is found in connection with Elijah, who in the belief of the people is present at every circumcision. “How can it be imagined that Elijah should be present at every circumcision that takes place in Isrâel? How can he accomplish it, since, Israel being a nation scattered and divided, many circumcisions take place simultaneously in the East of the World and the West thereof?” Glasberg, *Zichron Brith la-Rishonim* (Berlin 1892) p. 233.

¹⁵ 47, l. 3. “‘Abdallah b. Salâm” is a lapsus calami for “‘Abd [47] as-Salâm.”—Muhammed b. ‘Abd as-Salâm is identical with Ibn ‘Abd as-Salâm, who defends the belief in al-Khaḍir, *Tāj al-‘Arūs* III, 187. He is mentioned by Ibn al-Abbār, *Complementum libri as-Silah*, ed. Codera, Madrid 1887, p. 136, No. 483:

²⁰ ‘ابن عبد السلام الحافظ المعروف بابن شق (sic) الليل—Talabîra is situated on the Tajo, in the district of Toledo, Yakut III, 542.

— L. 6. I have not been able to identify this Kâtib with the not unusual name. He is mentioned by I. H., Ed. I, 111: ²⁵ He takes I. H. to a friend of his to show him the miracles he is working. But I. H. succeeds in unmasking him as a juggler.

— L. 11. This ḥadîth, which is recorded both by Muslim and Bukhârî and is in consequence canonical, reads fully as follows:

The Prophet says to Ali أَمَّا تَرَضَىٰ أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ

³⁰ مِنْ مُوسَىٰ غَيْرَ أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي. Nawawî, *Tahdîb* 438, Ibn al-Athîr, *Uṣd al-Ġāba* IV, 26³ (with the variant لَا نُبُوَّةَ بَعْدِي) comp. ZDMG. 50, 119. The tendency of the ḥadîth is transparent. It is directed against the extravagant worship of Ali (and the Imams) by the Ġāliya. On the beginning of the

¹ Whether مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ السَّلَامِ الْحَشَنِي repeatedly quoted by I. H. in Isnâds (e. g., Ed. I, 109 ult, V, 5²⁰) is identical with our Muhammed I am not in a position to determine.

hadith see p. 135³⁰.—A similar tradition with the same tend- [47]
ency is quoted by Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 105.

— Note 8. Cod. L. contains the following marginal note
(in extremely illegible and unpointed characters) **الظاهر من**

معناه أنه لا يحدث بعده نبي وإن شريعته قاهرة على جميع
الشرائع لا يجوز لأحد يوجد بعده أن يخالفه في شريعته ولذلك
قال صلى الله عليه وسلم لو كان موسى حيًا لما تغيّعه إلا أنبأني
ولذلك كان الخضر عليه السلام فيما يُقبل عنه أنه يعبد الله
تعالى على شريعة نبيّنا عليه السلام. The gloss is apparently
that of a reader. It is missing in Br. which is otherwise iden- 10
tical with L.

— L. 15. I. H. expresses himself similarly Ed. I, 77^o: “It
is well-established that the Prophet said that there would be no
prophet after him, with the exception of what the reliable
traditions contain regarding the advent of Jesus, who was sent 15
to the Jews and whom the Jews pretend to have killed and
crucified. It is necessary firmly to believe in all this and it is
well-established that the existence of prophecy after the Prophet
is absurd.”

— L. 17. The Berber tribe Barağwāta in the extreme North- 20
west of Africa formed an independent commonwealth under
Tarīf, who claimed descent from the tribe Simeon. His son
Ṣāliḥ pretended to be a prophet and composed a new Koran of
eighty Suras in the Berberic language, Ibn Adharī, ed. Dozy
I, 44. For their doctrine, see ibidem 234 ff. During the reign 25
of their seventh king they still expected the “return” of Ṣāliḥ;
Dozy, *Isl.* 348 ff., Kremer, *Ideen* 200, 372.

— Note 12. The Barağwāta Commonwealth was destroyed
by the Almoravides in 1030, Dozy, *ib.*, Kremer, *ib.*

— L. 19. The name of this sect alternates between Kaṭʿiyya 30
(قَطِيعِيَّة) and Kittiʿiyya (قَطِيعِيَّة). The former is found, e. g.,
Masudi VIII, 40; Shahr. 17, 127, 128, 147; Makr. 351²⁴. The
latter form is consistently used by I. H., Bagd. and Isfr., also
Masudi V, 443, 475. The form Kittiʿiyya as the more unusual
one seems to be original. 35

[47] The nature of the Kittī'iyya can best be understood when contrasted with its antithesis, the Wākifiyya or Wākifa, p. 40. The point of controversy is the reality of the Imam's death (see p. 30) and the question, dependent on it, of the election of a

5 successor. *تَوَقَّفَ فِي مَوْتِهِ* or *وَقَفَ فِي مَوْتِهِ* = *وَقَفَ* means "to be uncertain, to be in doubt," as regards the Imam's death," i. e., refuse to believe that the Imam is dead and, still recognizing him as Imam, refrain from electing a successor. The exact reverse of it is *قَطَعَ بَمَوْتِهِ* "definitely to assert his death,"² to
10 believe that the death of the Imam was real and, in consequence, transfer (ساق) the Imamate from the dead Imam to his successor. This state of the case is still perfectly clear in Shahr., as the following examples will show: 173 . . . *مَنْ تَوَقَّفَ فِي مَوْتِهِ* . . . 128 *الَّذِينَ قَطَعُوا بَمَوْتِهِ* 128 *وَمَنْ قَطَعَ بَمَوْتِهِ وَسَاقَ الْإِمَامَةَ إِلَى ابْنِهِ*
15 *مُوسَى* (in opposition to the Wākifiyya, p. 40). Then *وَقَفَ* and *تَوَقَّفَ* were interpreted in their literal meaning "to stand still" and the construction *وَقَفَ عَلَيْهِ* (تَوَقَّفَ عَلَيْهِ) came in use in the sense: "to stand still at him (at the Imām)," i. e., to uphold his Imamate without electing a successor because
20 of the unreal character of his death. Substantially then this expression is identical with the phrase *وَقَفَ (تَوَقَّفَ) فِي مَوْتِهِ*, and both are opposed to *قَطَعَ بَمَوْتِهِ* "to believe in the Imam's death and elect a new Imam." Thus Shahr. 127 *وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَطَعَ* 127 *بِمَوْتِهِ* (يعني بموت موسى بن جعفر) ويقال لهم القَطْعِيَّةُ وَمِنْهُمْ
25 *مَنْ تَوَقَّفَ عَلَيْهِ وَقَالَ إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَمُتْ وَسَيُخْرِجُ بَعْدَ الْغَيْبَةِ* ويقال
ثم منهم مَنْ وَقَفَ وَقَالَ بِالرَّجْعَةِ وَمِنْهُمْ: p. 16: *لَهُمُ الْوَاقِفِيَّةُ*

¹ See, e. g., Shahr. 131 *فَلَنَكُنْ مِنَ الْوَاقِفِيَّةِ فِي ذَلِكَ*. "Then we are in doubt concerning this."

² See on this meaning of *قَطَعَ* my *Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides*, I, (Frankfort on M., 1902) sub voce.

[47] مَنْ وَقَفَ عَلَيْهِ وَقَالَ بَرَجَعْتَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ سَاقَ، or ib.: مَنْ سَاقَ
الإمامة في أولاده.¹

Both the beliefs of the *Kiṭṭī'iyya* and *Wâḳifiyya* are in themselves merely relative conceptions and express but a certain attitude of mind. They become real only when applied to certain definite individuals. In consequence of this their relative character, their contents are somewhat elastic and change in accordance with the person to whom they are applied. As a rule, the contrast between the two sects hinges on the person of Mûsa b. Ja'far (p. 39¹⁸), the succession down to Ja'far, his 10 father, being a matter of common agreement among the Shiites (p. 104²⁶). Those that refuse to admit his death and await his "return" are called *Wâḳifiyya* (also *Mûsawiyya* and, with their nickname, *Mamṭûra*, p. 40¹²). Those, on the other hand, who admit his death and in consequence transfer the Imamate to his 15 descendants are called the *Kiṭṭī'iyya*. Comp. the passages quoted above from *Shahr*. See *Masudi* V, 443: *Hishâm b. al-Hakam* (p. 65¹¹) was an intimate friend of Mûsa b. Ja'far. Yet he was a *Kiṭṭī'iy*, i. e., he believed that Mûsa was dead. *Bagd.* 19^a:
يونس بن عبد الرحمن القُمِّي كان من القطيعيّة وناظر بعض²⁰
الموسويّة. *Kashi* in a special article on the *Wâḳifiyya*, p. 284–288, understands and applies this term in the same manner.

The name, however, occurs also in connection with other individuals of the *Alidic* family.

Thus *Wâḳifiyya* is found as another designation for *Ismâ-iliyya*, those who believe in the "return" of Musa's brother *Ismâ'il*, *Shahr.* 127.

¹ I have dwelt at some length on this point, as *Haarbrücker* in his *Shahr.* translation utterly misunderstood the whole matter. He takes قطع in its ordinary meaning "to cut off" (*abschneiden*) and interprets it in the sense "to cut off the series of Imams" and allow no further Imam. In consequence, the *contradictio in adiecto* that those who cut off (i. e., close) the series of Imams transfer the Imamate to their descendants, is repeatedly to be met with in his translation. E. g., I, 25: "Andere machen mit seinem Tode einen Abschnitt und führen das Imam auf seinen Sohn über," or, still more nonsensically, 192: "Andere schnitten mit seinem Tode (die Reihe der Imame) ab" and so forth. The same, *Wolff, Drusen*, p. 82 ff.—It is difficult to see how these authors could make any sense out of this translation.

[47] The name *Kiṭṭī'iyya* is found in connection with Ali, the son of Mūsa, Makr. 351²⁵. Zeid. 104^a applies this term to the "followers of Ali b. Muhammed," apparently referring to Ali an-Naḳī (died 254), the grandfather of the Shiitic Mahdī, 5 "the man of the cellar."

Gradually, however, the two terms were used pre-eminently in connection with the Mahdī, the Imam of the "Twelvers." Those who did not admit the death of his father, al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, and consequently rejected his own claims to the Imamate 10 are called the *Wâḳifiyya*, IBab., *Ithbat* 39 (p. 36, however, this term is used as a synonym for the *Mūsawiyya*). Those again who believed in al-Ḥasan's death and transferred the Imamate to the Mahdī, were called the *Kiṭṭī'iyya*. With the spread of the "Twelvers" and the extinction of the other Shiitic factions, 15 the term *Kiṭṭī'iyya* became the exclusive possession of this sect and was generally used as a synonym for *Ithnâ'ashariyya*, which is probably of later origin (I. H. does not use it in his *Milal*), comp. I. H. in our passage; Shahr. 17, 127, 147; Masudi V, 475; Bagd. 19^b expressly *ويقال لهم الاثناعشرية* and in the same 20 way Isfr. 13^b *وهؤلاء يدعون الاثناعشرية*.

The old Marracci recognized the identity of the *Kiṭṭī'iyya* with the *Ithnâ'ashariyya*. The rebuke preferred against him by de Sacy (II, 590 n. 1 = Wolff, *Drusen*, p. 83, n. 1) is without justification.

25 48, l. 3 ff. See I. H.'s remarks on the same subject, Text [48] p. 76' ff. I. H.'s account on the Mahdī is extremely interesting and in many a detail quite novel.¹

— L. 5. The year of al-Ḥasan's death is unanimously given as 260. All other dates and facts of the Mahdī's life were 30 early entangled in myth and legend.

This shows itself at once in the question as to the date of his birth, which is extremely problematic. Conspicuous in its tendency is the notion that he was born on the day on which his father died, Blochet 21. It betrays itself through the explanatory 35 remark that the Mahdī has, just like Jesus, been Imam since his infancy. According to another supposition (comp.

¹ Sibb, *Imams*, remarkably enough says nothing about the twelfth Imam.

Text here, l. 7) he was born eight months after his father's [48] death, Shahr. 130°. Repeatedly to be found as the year of his birth is 258, i. e., two years before his father's death, IBab.

Ithbat 44 l. 2 (read مولد instead of ولد); Ibn Zâlâk (died 387^h) in IKhall. No. 573; Diyarbekrî, II, 288. Very frequently 5 the year 255 is given, Abu'l-Maali 164; Anon. Sufi 170^a; Abul-fedâ II, 222; IKhall. ib.¹ See the various suppositions Shahr. 129-130.

The insinuation that the Mahdi was not born at all I have not met with outside of I. H. He repeats the same charge Ed. IV, 10 96^b: "If so, what need is there for them (the Imams), especially so for the last 180 years? (see Introduction, p. 19). For they pretend to have a lost Imam who (however) was never created, just like the fabulous griffin." Gen. Leyd. omits the Mahdi altogether, as it only records the Alides who had off-15 spring. Al-Ḥasan, however, is designated as Abû *Muhammed*.

The identity of the Mahdi's name with that of the Prophet which is demanded by the Mahdi traditions is regarded by the Shiites as proof of the legitimacy of the twelfth Imam.² To the same end the Prophet's kunya Abû'l-Ḳâsim was conferred 20 on him.³ The generally accepted Mahdi tradition demands, besides, identity in the father's name. But there are variations of this tradition which are so trimmed as to meet the special circumstances of the twelfth Mahdi, comp. IKhald. II, 144 ff.; Diyarbekrî, II, 288. 25

— L. 11 f. A more elaborate form of this anecdote see Blochet 22 (who writes *Hakimeh*). The motive of the anecdote is the Shiitic tendency to pattern the image of the Mahdi after that of Jesus, whose advent at the end of time is expected by all Muhammedans. The miracle of "talking in the cradle" is 30 ascribed to Jesus, Koran 3, 41; 5, 109; 19, 30 ff.; comp. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Qoran*

¹ The latter gives besides 256, which he considers correct. Anon. Sufi ib. quotes Yâfi'i's *Ta'rikh* to the effect that al-Ḥasan died when the Mahdi was six or five years old, which would imply 254 and 255 respectively.

² Already as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarî refers to such a tradition, Agh. VII, 4.

³ Zeid. Mutaz. 11¹ quotes a tradition according to which Muhammed ordered Ali to give his son his (the prophet's) name and kunya. He was referring to Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya.

[48] (1839), p. 47. The Sunnitic protest against the transferring of this miracle to the Mahdi found expression in an interpretation forcibly put upon the well-known ḥadīth—in itself an anti-

Shiitic protest—“there is no Mahdi إلا عيسى بن مريم”

“except Jesus”¹: “أَيُّ لَا يَتَكَلَّمُ فِي الْمَهْدِي (read المَهْدِي) إِلَّا عَيْسَى

“that is, none except Jesus talks in the cradle (al-mahd).” See IKhald. II, 163 and 169.

— Lines 13, 15, 16. On the name or names of the Mahdi's mother see Diyarbekri, II, 288, IKhall. No. 573, who also adds

10 “Khamṭ”² (a sort of fragrant milk). Narjis is given by the authorities quoted by Blochet, p. 21. See also Anon. Sufi fol.

170³: “أُمُّ أُمِّ وَلَدٍ يُقَالُ لَهَا نَرْجِسٌ. On the custom of giving

the slaves pet names of this description (“نرجس” narcissus,”

“lily,” “the polished one (?)”), see above, صَقِيلٌ خَمِطٌ “lily,” سوسن

15 see the remark Müller, *Islam* I, 570 footnote.

[49] 49, l. 4. The *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger), p. 1308, gives the following definition of “Inspiration” (al-

الإلهام مَعْنَى فِي الْقَلْبِ بِطَرِيقِ الْفَيْضِ أَيُّ بِلَا اِكْتِسَابِ: (al-

إِلْهَامٌ مَعْنَى فِي الْقَلْبِ بِطَرِيقِ الْفَيْضِ أَيُّ بِلَا اِكْتِسَابِ) (read استفادة) It men-

20 tions a Ṣūfī sect called al-Ilhâmiyya ايشان موافق اند بقرامطه

وَدَهْرِيَه كِه از خواندنِ قرآنِ وَاَمْوَحْتَنِ قرآنِ وَاِعْلَامِ ديني اِعْرَاضِ

کنند.

This claim of Inspiration is the reason why the Shiites object to religious discussions, p. 16⁶.

25 In the same way as here and Text p. 35¹⁶ ff., I. H. expresses himself Ed. IV, 104⁸: “Some of them (the Imâmiyya) when asked (to prove) the truth of their claim regarding the Imams (i. e., that the Imams are the only source of religious knowledge) take recourse to the claim of Inspiration in this matter.

¹ Comp. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Der Mahdi*, p. 16.

² Ed. de Slane, p. 632, has خَمِطٌ; ed. Wüstenfeld has incorrectly خَمِطٌ.

But if they arrive at this sophism,¹ then the latter is not beyond [49] reach of any one man, and their opponents are very well able to pretend that they have been informed by way of inspiration of the absurdity of their claim."

A Shiitic writer of the eleventh century (Hijra) uses the following characteristic argument to prove the superiority of the Imams and scholars of the Shi'a, Goldziher, *Shi'a*, p. 509: "because their words are not a matter of opinion or effort, but of true knowledge. Their source is either a tradition which every one of them has received from his father, the latter 10 from his own father and so on up to the Prophet, or Revelation and Inspiration, so that both small and big are equal in this respect among them. For this reason it has never been recorded of any of them that he has ever gone to a teacher, or studied under a master, or asked any question."

— Note 5. The reading of Ed. and Codd. presupposes ظریف and the same word is found in Ed. Text 57¹³, 64⁸ (see also Ed. IV, 97¹⁰). It is possible to get along with the ordinary meaning of ظریف "clever, ingenious."

— L. 9 (note 10). I took this as an example of some monstrous (of course, imaginary) charge for which Inspiration might be invoked. See a similar charge note 9. Prof. Nöldeke (in a private communication) objects to this interpretation. He prefers to retain من جنون in the text and to translate "or that all of them have a piece (lit. a branch) of madness in their 25 heads."

— L. 13 ff. (and previously). The tone in which I. H. speaks of this charge of illegitimate birth shows that he takes it quite seriously. I have not found any reference to it elsewhere.² The concluding words of this paragraph are characteristic 30 of I. H.'s biting sarcasm: It is possible that you all may still be saved by becoming orthodox Muslims. But then you

¹ الشَّعْبُ, see p. 6 f. But perhaps الشَّعْبُ "narrow path" ought to be read, comp. Text p. 78-79 (repeatedly).

² One is vividly reminded of the frequently quoted sentence מרחצית כולי האי שמע מניה ממור הוא "as he is so impudent, it is clear that he is a bastard." Comp. S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu* (Berlin 1902), pp. 188, 278.

[49] will have proved, according to your own contention, that you are all bastards.

[50] 50, l. 9 ff. Comp. I. H.'s notice (Ed. IV, 195^{1b}): أبو عثمان عمرو بن (بَحْرُ + Cod. L.) الجاحظ القصري (البصريّ) الكنانيّ صليبه (صليبه read) وقيل بل مولى¹ وهو تلميذ النظام⁵ واحد شيوخ المعتزلة.

Jāhiz died in Baṣra in 255/869, over ninety years old, IKhall. No. 479, 58⁶; Brockelmann I, 152.² He was a pupil of an-Nazzām (p. 58⁶), whom he quotes in this passage. He himself¹⁰ figures as the founder of a sect bearing his name, de Boer, 53.

I. H.'s remark bearing on Jāhiz is reflected in the attitude towards him of the Arabic literary critics, which is on the whole more hostile than favorable. "The style of his genius is mediocre" is the verdict of de Boer (p. 54). The Muham-¹⁵ medan writers, however, are ready to appreciate his literary talent and particularly his eloquence, e. g., Masudi VIII, 34; Shahr. 52; Iji 341. But his orthodoxy is held in great suspicion, Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 190. IKhall. (No. 186, p. 125), after stating that Jāhiz declared Ibn Mokaffa' to be an infidel, sar-²⁰ castically adds: "But, as someone remarked, how could Jāhiz have forgotten himself?" Still less favorably than his orthodoxy is judged his moral character. Masudi VIII, 34 says of him briefly but poignantly انصرافه مشهور. He sells his literary talent to the highest bidder and writes successively in favor of²⁵ the 'Abbasides, the 'Othmanides and Merwanides, ib. p. 56.³ For an instance of his unprincipled attitude see later (p. 104^{8a} ff.).

Extremely interesting is the crushing criticism of Jāhiz as man and writer, by Bagd. and Isfr. I give the essential parts of Baḡdādī's remarks (fol. 69^a)⁴ as they are apt to illustrate

³⁰ I. H.'s utterance in our passage: ذَكَرَ الجاحظيّة منهم (يعنى من) المعتزلة) هاؤلاء أتباع عمرو بن يحيى (sic) الجاحظ وهم الذين

¹ Comp. Kashi 38.

² Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 126, note 17 gives the erroneous date 235/849-850.

³ See Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 120.

⁴ Isfr. 37^a gives substantially the same. But the wording is quite different.

[50] اغتَرَّوْا بِحُسْنِ بَدْلَةِ الْجَاحِظِ فِي كُتُبِهِ الَّتِي بِهَا تَرْجُمَةُ تَرَوْقُ بِلَا
 مَعْنَى وَاسْمٌ يَهْوُلُ بِلَا جِسْمٍ وَلَوْ عَرَفُوا جَهَالَتَهُ فِي ضَلَالَاتِهِ
 لَاسْتَغْفَرُوا اللَّهَ تَعَالَى مِنْ تَسْمِيَتِهِمْ إِيَّاهُ إِنْسَانًا فَضْلًا عَنْ أَنْ
 يَنْسُبُوا إِلَيْهِ إِحْسَانًا. . . . [70^a] وَقَدْ افْتَخَرَ الْكَعْبِيُّ¹ بِالْجَاحِظِ
 5 وَزَعَمَ أَنَّهُ مِنْ شَيْوِخِ الْمَعْتَزِلَةِ وَافْتَخَرَ بِتَصَانِيفِهِ الْكَثِيرَةِ وَزَعَمَ
 أَنَّهُ كِنَانِيُّ مِنْ بَنِي كِنَانَةَ بْنِ خُزَيْمَةَ بْنِ مُدْرِكَةَ بْنِ الْيَاسِ بْنِ
 مُضَرَ فَيَقَالُ لَهُ إِنَّ كَانَ كِنَانِيًّا كَمَا زَعَمَتْ فَلِمَ صَنَّفَتْ (صَنَّفَ read)
 كِتَابَ مَفَاخِرِ الْقَحْطَانِيَّةِ عَلَى الْكِنَانِيَّةِ وَسَائِرِ الْعَدْنَانِيَّةِ وَإِنْ
 كَانَ عَرَبِيًّا فَلِمَ صَنَّفَ كِتَابَ فَضْلِ الْمَوَالِي عَلَى الْعَرَبِ وَأَمَّا
 10 كُتُبُهُ الْمُرْخَرَفَةُ فَأَصْنَأَفَ مِنْهَا كِتَابَهُ فِي حَيْلِ اللَّصُوصِ وَقَدْ عَلَّمَ
 بِهَا الْفَسَقَةَ وَجَوَّ السَّرْقَةِ وَمِنْهَا كِتَابُهُ فِي عَشْرِ الصَّنَاعَاتِ وَقَدْ
 أَفْسَدَ بِهَا عَلَى التَّجَارِ سِلْعَهُمْ وَمِنْهَا كِتَابُهُ فِي النُّوَامِيسِ وَهُوَ
 ذَرِيعَةٌ لِلْمُحْتَالِينَ يَجْتَلِبُونَ بِهَا وَدَائِعَ النَّاسِ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ وَمِنْهُمْ
 كِتَابُهُ فِي الْفَتْيَا وَهُوَ مَشْكُونٌ بَطْعُنٌ أُسْتَاذُهُ النَّظَّامُ عَلَى أَعْلَامِ
 15 الْحَبَابَةِ وَمِنْهَا كُتُبُهُ فِي الْقَحَابِ وَالْكِلَابِ وَاللَّاطَةِ وَفِي حَيْلِ
 الْمُكْدِّينِ² وَمَعَانِي هَذِهِ الْكُتُبِ لَا تُقَى بِهِ وَبَصْنَعَتُهُ وَأُسْرَتُهُ وَمِنْهَا
 كِتَابُ طِبَاعِ الْحَيَوَانِ³ وَقَدْ سَلَخَ فِيهِ مَعَانِي كِتَابِ الْحَيَوَانِ
 لَارِسْطُوطَالِيسِ وَضَمَّنَ إِلَيْهِ مَا ذَكَرَهُ الْمَدَائِنِيُّ مِنْ حِكْمِ الْعَرَبِ
 وَأَشْعَارِهَا فِي مَنَافِعِ الْحَيَوَانَاتِ ثُمَّ إِنَّهُ سَخَّنَ الْكِتَابَ بِمَنْظَرَةٍ بَيْنَ

¹ See Makr. 348^o.² Is this identical with his Kitâb al-Bukhalâ?³ Isfr. declares it to be his most important (أَعْلَى) work.

الكلب والديك¹ والاشتغال بمثل هذه المناظرة تَضْيِيعٌ للوقت [50]
[70^b] بالمقت ومن افتخر بالجاحظ سلمناه اليه وقول اهل

السنة في الجاحظ كقول الشاعر فيه [الكامل]

لَوْ يُمْسَحُ الْخَنْزِيرُ مَسْحًا ثَانِيًا * مَا كَانَ إِلَّا دُونَ قُبْحِ الْجَاحِظِ²

رَجُلٌ يَنْوُبُ عَنِ الْحَجِيمِ بِنَفْسِهِ * وَهُوَ الْقَدَى فِي كُلِّ طَرَفٍ لَاحِظٌ³

— L. 14. Abû Ishâk Ibrahim b. Sayyâr an-Nazzâm, a pupil of Abû'l-Huðeil³ (p. 66³¹) and teacher of al-Jâhiz, was one of the most respected leaders of the Mu'tazila, "noteworthy as a man and a thinker," de Boer 51. He flourished about 221^h, Kremer, 10 *Ideen* 31; Shahr. 18, 37, 39 ff.; Iji 337 ff.; Makr. 346¹². He leaned towards Shiism ("Rafîd"), Shahr. 39; Iji 338. Bagd. 49^a protests against the interpretation of his name as نَظَّامٌ

للكلام المنثور والشعر الموزون and explains that he was called so because كان ينظم الحرز في سوق البصرة.

15 — Ibidem. A man by the name of Bishr b. Khâlid is otherwise unknown. But the context and the additional remark of Codd. L. Br. (note 8) strongly suggest that he is identical with the highly respected Mu'tazila-Sheikh Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir, the founder of the Bishriyya sect. He is mentioned together with 20 an-Nazzâm, Shahr. 18; Zeid. Mutaz. 30; comp. Shahr. 44; Iji 338 and others. I. H., too, frequently refers to him in his *Milal*. Ed. III, 126¹⁸, I. H. mentions an-Nazzâm, Abû'l-Huðeil, Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir and al-Jubbâ'î as remarkable for their speculative and argumentative powers.

25 I. H.'s (or the copyist's) mistake in our passage may perhaps be explained by assuming that Bishr's kunya was Abû Khâlid. For a similar mistake see p. 59⁷.

According to Zeid. Mutaz., Bishr was imprisoned by Rashîd on the charge of being a Shiite (Râfidî). But he denied it in 30 one of his poems.

¹ See van Vloten, *Worgers* 59, n. 16.

² Jâhiz was frightfully ugly, Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, popular edition, Leipzig 1901, p. 98.

³ Zeid. Mutaz. p. 25 ult., 27.

— L. 15. I. H. consistently designates this Muhammed as [50] the son of Ja'far. All other sources call him "b. an-Nu'mân," *Fih'r.* 176; Bagd. and Isfr. frequently; Tusy No. 698; Shahr. 142; Iji 347; Makr. 348²⁴, 353³; IKhall. No. 166; *Kâmûs* s.v.

الطاق, *Lubb al-Lubâb* s. v. الشيطانى.—*Agh.* VII 9⁷ and ⁵ Kashi 122, 123 call him Muh. b. *Ali* b. an-Nu'mân. His kunya was Abû Ja'far (*Fih'r.* 176; Shahr. 142; Kashi ib., Goldziher, *Shi'a* 509¹⁸), hence probably the mistake. See p. 58²⁵.

His nickname was Sheitân at-Tâk (see the sources quoted above), which, according to *Kâmûs*, signifies "the devil of at-Tâk, a citadel in Tabaristân."¹ The Shiites, however, call him Mu'min at-Tâk, Tusy ib.; Kashi 123. The sect founded by him is generally called Sheitâniyya. Shahr. calls it Nu'mâniyya, (comp. Goldziher in ZDMG. 61, 75, n. 2). He was an adherent of Ja'far aş-Şâdiq (died 146), who valued him highly, Kashi 15 122. He had a dispute with as-Sayyid al-Himyarî about the Imamate and came out victorious, *Agh.* ib.

His ready wit is attested in several instances quoted by Tusy and Kashi.

His book on the Imamate referred to on l. 17 is duly recorded ²⁰ by *Fih'r.* and Tusy.

— L. 18. This verse plays a prominent part in the polemics between Shiites and Sunnites. Abû Ja'far at-Tûsî, the author of the List of Shy'ah books, wrote a كتاب النقص على ابن شاذان في مسئلة الغار, p. 355, No. 771. Hishâm b. al-Hakam ²⁵ (p. 65¹¹) is the author of a كتاب الرد على اصحاب اثنتين by which most probably our verse is meant. The Caliph al-Ma'mûn anxiously endeavors to refute the consequences to be drawn from this verse in a discussion with a Sunnite, *Ikd* II.²

¹ Kashi explains the name in a very artificial manner. He was once shown a Dirhem and he said: سَتَوْق "it is forged" فقالوا ما هو إلا شيطان الطاق.—Comp. Barbier de Meynard in *Journal Asiatique* 1874, p. 245 note: "Quant an surnom Satan du portique, je n'en ai trouvé l'explication nulle part." Correct ibidem Hishâm b. al-Hakam for Hicham b. Malek.

² I have unfortunately lost the reference to the page.

[50] I. H., too, lays great stress on this verse as proving the legitimacy of Abû Bekr's Imamate, Ed. IV, 144²¹ ff.

[51] 51, l. 1. The objection appears ridiculous in his eyes because in his belief the verse is an interpolation of the Aṣḥâb, see 5 p. 61 f.

— L. 3. His full name is Ali b. Ismâ'îl b. Mîtham' at-Tammâr (see the references later), but he is frequently called Ali b. Mîtham, so here and Text p. 75²⁴, Bagd. 21^b.² The variant هيثم (instead of ميثم) occurs frequently, see Text p. 75, note 10 12; Masudi VI, 369; Tab. (in the variants to the passages quoted below n. 1); Makr. 351²² (de Sacy II, 589 has, however, Maïtham). The reading and pronunciation Mîtham is confirmed by Bagd. See also *Fihrr.* 174 note 4. Instead of at-Tammâr, Fihrist gives at-Tayyâr.³ The by-name aṣ-Ṣâbûnî (the soap boiler) is not 15 found elsewhere.

His grandfather Mîtham at-Tammâr was an esteemed follower of Ali, *Fihrr.* ib.; Tusy p. 212, No. 458; Kashi (in a separate article) 53–58. Makr. 351²⁴ (=de Sacy II, 589) erroneously refers this adherence to Ali b. Ismâ'îl himself.—Ali was by 20 origin from Kufa and was a client of the Banû Asad, but he lived in Basra. He participated in conjunction with those named Text p. 75²² in a discussion in the Majlis of the Barmekide vizier Yahya, Masudi VI, 369. He had a dispute with Abû'l-Huḍeil and an-Nazzâm, Tusy ib.

25 He is regarded as the originator of the Imamite doctrine, Masudi, *Fihrr.*, Tusy, Makr. (=de Sacy). Bagd 21^b: من شيوخ الرافضة. In spite of it, he is reported to have been moderate in the denunciation of Ali's opponents, see Text p. 79²¹; comp. Wolff, *Drusen*, p. 80, 82.

30 He is in all probability identical with Ali b. Ismâ'îl, who gave the Mûsawiyya the nickname Mamṭûra, p. 40¹⁹.

¹ Tab. III, 249¹³, 254¹⁷, 238¹ inserts between Ismâ'îl and Mîtham the name Ṣâliḥ. See, however, ib. 288 note a.

² Kashi 170 calls him repeatedly علي بن اسمعيل ميثم, also الميثمي. Goldziher, *Shi'a* 510⁶ الميثمي (cf. ib. n. 5).

³ There is one الطيار mentioned Kashi 176³ among the intimates of Ja'far as-Ṣâdik who may be identical with him. Ja'far alludes to the meaning of the name (179³), so that a mere copyist's error is out of the question.

— L. 11. Perhaps the reason for it is that the Rawâfiḍ have [51] no hesitation to change their minds, as they attribute the same (see on the Badâ doctrine, p. 72^e) to God.

— L. 14. The belief in “tabdîl” is, properly considered, the basis of Shiitic doctrine. It accounts for the lack of the 5 Prophet’s written announcement regarding the succession of Ali and justifies the distrust toward the bearers of the Sunna, which again is the starting point for a complete remodelling of Islam. Isfr. 14^b ably summarizes the far-reaching consequences

of this belief: وَأَعْلَمَ أَنَّ جَمِيعَ مَنْ ذَكَرْنَاهُمْ مِنْ فِرَقِ الْإِمَامِيَّةِ 10

مُتَّفِقُونَ عَلَى تَكْفِيرِ الْحَكَاةِ وَيَدَّعُونَ أَنَّ الْقُرْآنَ قَدْ غُيِّرَ عَمَّا

كَانَ وَوَقَعَتْ فِيهِ الزِّيَادَةُ وَالنَّقْصَانُ مِنْ قَبْلِ الْحَكَاةِ وَيَزْعُمُونَ

أَنَّهُ قَدْ كَانَ فِيهِ النَّصُّ عَلَى إِمَامَةٍ عَلَى فَنَاسَقَطَتْهُ الْحَكَاةُ عَنْهُ

[15^a] وَيَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّهُ لَا اعْتِمَادَ عَلَى الْقُرْآنِ الْآنَ وَلَا عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِنْ

الْأَخْبَارِ الْمَرْوِيَّةِ عَنِ الْمُصْطَفَى صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَيَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّهُ لَا 15

اعْتِمَادَ عَلَى الشَّرِيعَةِ الَّتِي فِي أَيْدِي الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَيَنْتَظِرُونَ إِمَامًا

يَسْمُونَهُ الْمَهْدِيَّ يَخْرُجُ وَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الشَّرِيعَةَ وَلِيَسُوا فِي الْحَالِ عَلَى

شَيْءٍ مِنَ الدِّينِ وَلَيْسَ مَقْصُودُهُمْ مِنْ هَذَا الْكَلَامِ تَحْقِيقَ الْكَلَامِ

فِي الْإِمَامَةِ وَلَكِنْ مَقْصُودُهُمْ إِسْقَاطُ كَلْفَةِ تَكْلِيفِ الشَّرِيعَةِ عَنْ

أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى يَتَوَسَّعُوا فِي اسْتِحْلَالِ الْحَرَّمَاتِ الشَّرْعِيَّةِ وَيَعْتَذِرُوا 20

عِنْدَ الْعَوَامِّ بِمَا يَدَّعُونَهُ مِنْ تَحْرِيفِ الشَّرِيعَةِ وَتَغْيِيرِ الْقُرْآنِ مِنْ

عِنْدِ الْحَكَاةِ وَلَا مَرِيدَ عَلَى هَذَا النُّوعِ مِنَ الْكُفْرِ إِنْ لَا بَقَاءَ فِيهِ

عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِنَ الدِّينِ .

More comprehensively, and, as is to be expected, from a higher point of view does I. H. deal with this problem. Hav-²⁵ing proved that the Gospels had been interpolated, I. H. (Ed. II, 76^{ff.}) quotes two Christian counter-arguments which he tries elaborately to refute. The first is that the Caliph Othman removed numerous readings from the Koran, and the other

[51] "that the Rawâfîd maintain that the Companions of your Prophet altered the Koran by way of omissions and additions." The first objection I. H. discards briefly, though somewhat superficially, by pointing out that in the time of Othman the
 5 Koran text was already so wide-spread and so firmly established, that the Caliph *could* not, even if he would, change it.' "As for their argument regarding the Rawâfîd and their contention that the Koran readings were interpolated, the Rawâfîd do not belong to the Muslims. They consist of a number of sects, the
 10 first of which arose twenty-five years after the Prophet's death. It was originally the response of some people abandoned by Allah to the call of those who beguiled Islam,² a party which followed the course of the Jews and Christians as regards falsehood and heresy. They are divided into various sections. The most
 15 extravagant of them assume the divinity of Ali b. Abî Tâlib and of a number of people besides him. The least extravagant of them believe that the sun was twice turned backwards for Ali.³ How can one be indignant over lies coming from people whose lowest rank in lying is such (as described)?" He then pro-
 20 ceeds elaborately to refute this charge. He cleverly beats the Rawâfîd with their own weapons by pointing (Ed. II, 80¹⁶) to the fact that Ali himself, "who according to most of them is a god, a creator, and, according to some of them, a prophet endowed with speech, while in the opinion of the rest he is an
 25 infallible Imam, the obedience to whom is a religious command imposed by Law," did not object to the Koran in its present shape and, while Caliph, did not fight the interpolators, which would have been his sacred duty. "Thus the mendacity of the Rawâfîd becomes evident, and praise be unto Allah, the Lord
 30 of (all) Created Beings!"

A brief reference to the same subject is contained Ed. IV, 146¹⁶: "unless the Rawâfîd fall back on ignoring the Koran and (assuming) omissions and additions in it. This is something whereby becomes evident their impudence, ignorance and
 35 stupidity."

A thorough discussion of the whole question and a refutation of the charges raised as well by modern scholars can be found in Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 217 ff. See also Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 111 ff.

¹ Ed. II, 78³.

² See p. 16, n. 2.

³ See p. 68.

—L. 17. On Abû'l-Kâsim Ali Du'l-Majdein 'Ilm al-Hudâ [51] al-Murtaḍâ, the Naḳīb of the Shiites, 355/966-436/1044, see Tusy, No. 472, p. 218; IKhall., No. 454. His negative attitude towards the "tabdīl" doctrine is perhaps implied in Tusy's remark *وله مسائل كثيرة في نصرة الرواية*. His genealogy appears 5 both in Ed. and Codd. in mutilated shape. I have restored it with the help of Gen. Leyd., Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* Y 32, and Tusy. IKhall. (and following him, Brockelmann I, 404) omits Mûsa between Muhammed and Ibrâhîm.

—Note 12. "Better to be translated: 'yet at the same time 10 he openly and publicly declared himself a Mu'tazilite.' (The same in Text l. 20.) Otherwise *منهم* or *عنهم* could not be missing." (Nöldeke.)

—L. 21 f. I could find nothing bearing on Abû Ya'la. As a possibility I would suggest his identity with at-Tusî, the 15 author of the frequently quoted List of Shy'ah books. He calls himself a pupil of Ali al-Murtaḍâ (List. p. 218, No. 472). He is counted Shahr. 145 among the writers of the Imâmiyya. A catalogue of his own writings, List, p. 285, No. 620.—*سبلان* as a proper name occurs Fih. 180^a. The variant *ميلاد* seems 20 much easier. But *ميلاد* designates the *date*, not, as we expect here, the *place* of birth.

52, l. 1. I have not been able to identify this Abû'l-Kâsim. [52]

—L. 5 f. The belief in Transmigration is not characteristic of the Keisâniyya, but is rather, as I. H. himself points out 25 (Ed. IV, 198¹³), a logical consequence of the Mu'tazilite doctrine of Divine Justice which necessitates an exact retribution after death.¹ This belief, however, is attributed to several men known as Keisânites, so to as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarî (in our passage),² Kuthayyir (p. 26²⁷), 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya (p. 44¹¹),³⁰ Abû Muslim, (p. 64¹⁰).—Makr. 354⁹ mentions a special sect "Tanâsukhiyya."

On the relation between Tanâsukh and Raj'a, see p. 26 f.

See also next note.

¹ See Schreiner, *Der Kalâm in der jüdischen Litteratur*, p. 62 ff.

² Dahabî, *Ta'riḫ al-Islâm*, vol. VII (MS. Strassburg, not paginated) in the biography of as-Sayyid, quotes I. H. as authority for the assumption that as-Sayyid shared this belief.

52] —L. 8 ff. The peculiar procedure described in this paragraph is the outcome of the belief in Transmigration. I. H.'s own expositions on the subject of Tanâsukh (Ed. IV, 90¹⁴ ff. in a special chapter) are apt to illustrate and explain our passage.
 5 “Those¹ that believe in the Transmigration of Souls are divided into two sections: one section holds that the souls on leaving the bodies are transferred to other bodies which² are different from the kind of bodies they had left. This is the belief of Aḥmad b. Ḥā’it³ [V + the pupil of an-Nazzâm]⁴, of Aḥmad b. Nânûs,⁵ his pupil [V.: the pupil of Ibn Ḥā’it], of Abû Muslim of Khorâsân, of Muhammed b. Zakariyâ ar-Râzî, the physician,⁶ who expressly advocates this (doctrine) in his book entitled “al-‘Ilm al-Ilâhî.” This is also the belief of the Carmathians [V + the *Keisâniyya* and some of the *Râfiḍa*] . . . These people
 15 are of the opinion that the Transmigration of Souls takes place in the form of Punishment and Reward. They say: the soul of the sinner who has made himself guilty of bad actions is transferred to the bodies of repulsive animals⁷ which wallow in all kinds of filth, which are forced to work, are inflicted with
 20 pain, and are used for slaughtering.” See also Ed. IV, 198⁷ ff.

— Note 5. The addition of L. Br. is not justified. The hatred of the Rawâfiḍ concentrates itself on Abû Bekr and ‘Omar. See the interesting remark *Milal* V, 60^b ⁸ فآبُو بَكْرٍ وَعَمْرُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا تُعَادِيهِمَا الرَّافِضَةُ . . . وَعُثْمَانُ وَعَلِيٌّ تُعَادِيهِمَا الْخَوَارِجُ.

An instance of the intense hatred of the Shiites towards the “two Sheikhs” which is as curious as it is typical is quoted Mirza fol. 52^b: وَمِنْ هَفَوَاتِهِمُ الْخُنْثَةُ مَا رَوَّهَ فِي مَعْتَبَرَاتٍ كُتِبَ

¹ I add a few important variants from Cod. V (50^a), L siding with Ed.

² Ed. I 90¹⁶ strike out الى اجساد اخر من غير نوع . وان . V: الى اجساد .

³ Ed. حابط, see p. 10¹¹.

⁴ See p. 58⁶.

⁵ V. قابوس. p. 10¹⁹ 22.

⁶ See de Boer, p. 77 ff.

⁷ The following differently worded in V.

⁸ =L. I, 42^b. I cannot identify the passage in Ed.

[52] أَحَادِيثُهُمْ عَنِ الصَّادِقِ¹ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَهُوَ أَنَّ أَحَدًا مِنْ تَبَعِ
 الْأَحْوَلِ² قَالَ كُنْتُ يَوْمًا عِنْدَ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ فَجَاءَ
 وَاحِدٌ (أَحَدٌ) read (أَحَدٌ) مِنَ الْخِطَّائِينَ [53^a] الَّذِينَ كَانُوا يَنْشِيعُونَ
 وَبَيْدَهُ قَمِيصَانِ فَقَالَ يَا ابْنَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ خِطْتُ وَاحِدًا (sic) مِنْهُمَا
 وَبِكُلِّ خِيطَةٍ رَحَدْتُ رَبَّ الْأَرْبَابِ وَخِطْتُ الْآخَرَ وَلَعَنْتُ بِكُلِّ مِنْهَا
 عُمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ ثُمَّ نَذَرْتُ لَكَ مَا أَحْبَبْتَ مِنْهُمَا فَمَا تُحِبُّهُ خُذْهُ
 وَمَا لَا تُحِبُّهُ رُدِّهِ قَالَ فَقَالَ الصَّادِقُ أَحَبُّ مَا تَمَّ بِلَعْنِ عُمَرَ وَأُرِدَّ
 إِلَيْكَ الَّذِي خِيطَ بِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ الْكَبِيرِ.

The story is not impossible. At any rate: se non e vero . . .

— L. 17. On Hishâm see also Text p. 74²² ff., 75²².—Hishâm 10
 b. al-Ḥakam Abû Muhammed al-Aḥwal ar-Râfiḍî (al-Ḥarrâr,
 Masudi VII, 231) was born in Wâsit (Kashi 165), but lived in
 Kufa as a client of the Banû Asad (Text 52, note 10), or of the
 Banû Kinda (Kashi; Fih. 175; Tusy, p. 355, No. 771). He
 moved to Bagdad³ in 199 and is said to have died in the same year.⁴ 15
 He belonged to the intimate circle of Mûsa b. Ja'far (p. 39¹⁵),
 but he had also, when still a young man (Kashi 167), come in
 contact with Ja'far (Fih., Tusy), who converted him from his
 heresies to the orthodox Imamitic belief (Kashi). In spite of
 the difference in opinion, he held intimate intercourse with 20
 'Abdallah b. Yazîd, the founder of the Kharijite sect Ibâḍiyya,
 Masudi V, 343.

He was considered an authority on the Imamate question.
 When a Syrian once came to Ja'far and insisted, among other
 things, on having an argument about the Imamate, he was 25
 referred to Hishâm (Kashi 179). The theory of the Imamate
 is the central point of his doctrine. He compared the Imamate

¹ Ja'far as-Sâdiq.

² This either refers to Sheitân at-Tâḳ (p. 59³) or to Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam,
 this page, l. 11. They both bore the nickname al-Aḥwal.

³ Kashi quotes an exact topographical description of his Bagdad resi-
 dence by an eye-witness.

⁴ According to Kashi, he died in Kufa twenty years earlier, 179, during
 the reign of ar-Rashîd. But this can scarcely be correct, as he was a
 young man during Ja'far's (died 146) lifetime. See the following.

[52] with the heart in the human body, Masudi VII, 234, 236. See his pretty and elaborate comparison of the limbs with the Imamate, Kashi 176.¹ He belonged to the Kitṭī'iyya, who admitted Mūsa b. Ja'far's death, p. 51¹⁷.

⁵ In the domain of Kalām, Hishām occupied a prominent position. He was the representative of a grossly anthropomorphic doctrine and, in conjunction with Hishām al-Juwālīkī (p. 132³⁶), was considered the founder of the Hishāmiyya sect,² Bagd. 19^b, 125^a; Isfr. 14^a, 15^a, 54^b; Shahr. 18, 60, 76, 141 ff.;
¹⁰ Iji 346.

— L. 18. See Text 75²⁴. Abū Ali is called the pupil or adherent (ṣāhib) of Hishām in the other sources as well. His by-name is uncertain; see the variants p. 52 note 12 and 75 note 13. Masudi VI, 369 has السكال; Shahr. 145 شكال, the same
¹⁵ Fih. 176 (var. سكال). I have adopted the reading of L Text 75²⁴: "ash-Shakkāk," "the sceptic." Masudi expressly designates him as Imamite. Shahr. counts him among the writers of the Imāmiyya. The title of his book recorded Fih. ib. points to the same thing: كتاب على من أتى وجوب الإمامة بالنص.

20

— L. 19. Comp. the discussion of this question Ed. II, 128. An elaborate account of Hishām's theory of Divine Knowledge is given Bagd. 20^b and Shahr. 59 ff. It became popular not only with Shiites, e. g., the Sheiṭāniyya (p. 59¹³), Isfr. 54^b; Shahr.
²⁵ 142; Iji 347; Makr. 353; or Zurāra b. A'yūn (Shahr., Makr.), but also with Mu'tazilites, the famous al-Jubbā'i approving of it (Shahr. 59).

[53] 53, l. 1. "Abū'l-Hudeil b. Makhṭūl al-'Allāf,³ a client of the 'Abd al-Keis of Basra, one of the leaders and foremost men
³⁰ of the Mu'tazila" (Ed. IV, 192¹⁷), died about 235 (Shahr. 37; IKhall. No. 617⁴; Zeid. Mutaz. 28) at an extremely old age

¹ Ja'far is so delighted with his expositions that he exclaims

هذا مكتوب في كُتُبِ ابراهيم وموسى ib. 177. [Cf. I Cor. 12, 12 ff.]

² Makr. 348² calls it also al-Hakamiyya, after the name of his father (comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75 n. 2).

³ Zeid. Mutaz. 25 كان يلقَّب بالعلَّاف لأنَّ داره بالبصرة كانت في العلَّافين.

⁴ IKhall. gives besides 226 and 227. Iji 336 has erroneously 135.

(Zeid. Mutaz.).—He was an opponent of anthropomorphism. [53]
On his doctrines see de Boer 49 ff.

On his disputes with Hishâm b. al-Hakam see the sources quoted p. 66, ll. 12–13, espec. Shahr. 18, 141. According to Zeid. Mutaz. 26 and somewhat in contradiction with 53 note 1 and this page, l. 27, Abû'l-Hudail, while on a pilgrimage to Mekka, paid a visit to *Kufa* and there met Hishâm and other opponents, with whom he victoriously argued about subtle Kalâm matters.

— L. 2. This utterance is attributed—erroneously as Makr. 348⁵ points out—to Mukâtîl b. Suleimân (p. 11³⁰), see also 10 Shahr. 141.—The purport of this utterance is rather obscure, in spite of the following two notices which sound more intelligible. Bagd. 20^a: وحكى بعضهم عن هشام انه قال في معبوده انه سبعة أشبار بشبر نفسه كأن قاسه على الانسان لأن كد انسان في الغالب من العادة سبعة أشبار بشبر نفسه. Similarly 15 Mirza fol. 80^b from Imâm ar-Râzî's (died 606/1209) *Milal wa'n-Nihal* وبعاقت رأي او بدان قراز گرفت که هفت بدست است و زیاده این مقدار از همه مقدارها معتدلتراست. Accordingly, the most proportionate human figure is that whose height ("length," 53 note 2) is seven times the size of its own "span," 20 and Hishâm, who was excessively anthropomorphic (p. 66⁹), conceived God as a human figure of the most proportionate size. But "span" (shibr) is too large in this connection. Perhaps it signifies here a smaller measure (see Dozy sub voce).

Interesting and characteristic of Hishâm's doctrine is the 25 notice Bagd. 20^a: وذكر ابو الهذيل في بعض كتبه انه لقي هشام بن الحكم بمكة عند جبل ابي قبيس فسأله ايما اكبر معبوده ام هذا الجبل قال فأشار الى ان الجبل يوفي عليه تعالى (أي add) "Hishâm indicated that the mountain towered above Him the Exalted, i. e. (he meant to say) that 30 the mountain was bigger than God."

— L. 3. The reading adopted in the text is found Text p. 75²³ and Bagd. 124^a (with a soft ح under the line). الجوّاري occurs frequently, see the variants 53 n. 4 and 75 n. 11, Shahr.

[53] 77 (=Haarbr. 115); Wolff, *Drusen* 48. الجواربتي is found Shahr. 143 (Haarbr. 215); Isfr. 55^a and is also reflected in the reading of Ed. in our text, note 4.—On his extravagantly anthropomorphic doctrines see the sources just quoted, espec. Shahr. 143.

— L. 6. I. H. refers twice to the same belief in his *Milal*. Ed. II, 78^a: “Those of them (the Shiites) who are the least extravagant (still) believe that the sun was turned back twice for Ali b. A. T.” Ed. V, 3²², in discussing the question whether miracles can be performed by non-prophets, he refers to “the claim of the Rawâfîd that the sun was turned back twice for Ali b. A. T.” He quotes as illustration a poem of as-Sayyid al-Himyari referring to the turning back of the sun, in order to enable Ali to recite the prescribed prayer (see later), and to the same miracle happening a second time—if the reading be correct—in Babylon (‘Irâq).¹ He further quotes a poem by Ḥabîb b. Aus (Abû Tamâm, died 231) of which the last verse reads thus: “By Allah, I do not know whether Ali has appeared to us and the sun has been turned back for him, or whether Joshua has been among the people.” He points out, however, that the verse in this form is a forgery and that the correct reading offers something entirely different.²

¹ The quotation from as-Sayyid which is found in L. II, 166^b is omitted in Ed. and runs as follows:

[الكامل]
رَدَّتْ عَلَيْهِ الشَّمْسُ حِينَ يَفُوتُهُ * وَتُتِ الصَّلَاةُ وَقَدْ دَنَتْ لِلْمَغْرِبِ
حَتَّى يُلْحِقَ نَوْرُهَا فِي وَقْتِهَا * لِلْعَصْرِ ثُمَّ هَوَتْ هَوَى الْكَوَاكِبِ
(L. الكوكب)
وَعَلَيْهِ قَدْ رَدَّتْ بِبَايَدَ مَرَّةٍ * أُخْرَى وَمَا رَدَّتْ بِخَلْقِ مَغْرِبِ
(L. unp.)

I am not certain as to the meaning of *مغرب* (sic) *مخلق*. In L follows a rhymed refutation by Ibn Ḥazm which is missing in Ed. The text is too doubtful to allow of a reproduction.

² قال ابو محمد وانما الرواية الصحيحة

فَوَاللَّهِ مَا أَدْرِي أَأَحْلَامُ نَائِمٍ * أَلَمَّتْ بِنَاكَانَ فِي الْقَوْمِ يُرْشَعُ

This remark is missing in Ed. In the second verse L offers the undoubtedly correct reading *وانطوى لبهجتها ثوب السماء الجزع*.

The miracle of the standstill of the sun is reported in connection with Ali in two cases. In one case the sun halted to enable Ali to complete the conquest of a besieged city. The Sunnites claim this miracle for the Prophet (see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 331 and at the end of this note). In the other 5 Muhammed bids the sun to rise again to enable the belated Ali to recite the afternoon prayer, Goldziher *ib.*, and note 9. It seems that official Shiitic tradition takes cognizance merely of the latter case. At least it is the only one which figures as "the Hadith of the Turning back of the Sun" recorded by 10 Sibṭ, *Imams* fol. 32^a. I reproduce the chapter in extenso as it gives an exhaustive presentation of the subject and contains, besides, numerous points of interest.

حديث رَدَّ الشمس ، أنا أبو القاسم عبد الحُسن بن عبد الله
 ابن أحمد الطوسي قال أخبرني والِدِي عبد الله بن أحمد¹⁵
 الطوسي قال أخبرنا أبو الحسين بن النقوم أخبرنا ابن خبابة
 بنَا البَغَوِي ثَنَا طَالُوت بن عباد بن ابراهيم بن الحسن عن
 فاطمة بنت الحسين عن أَسْمَاء بنت عُمَيْس قالت كان رأس رسول
 الله صَلَّى الله عليه وسلَّم في جُحْر على عليه السلام وهو يُوحَى²⁰
 اليه فلم يصلِّ العصرَ حتى غربت الشمس فقال رسول الله صَلَّى
 الله عليه والهَّمَّ إِنَّهُ كان في طاعتك وطاعة رسولك فَأَرَدْتُ عليه
 الشمسَ فَرَدَّهَا الله له وقد ضَعَف قومٌ هذا الحديثَ وذكره
 جدِّي¹ في كتاب الموضوعات وقال² في إِسْنَادِهِ جماعةٌ ضَعَفَاءُ
 وسَمَّاهُمْ ثم قال وصلوة العصر صارت قِضَاءً³ ولا يُفِيدُ رجوعُ
 الشمس [32^b] قلتُ قد حكى القاضي عِيَّاضُ⁴ في كتاب الشِّفَا²⁵

¹ Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū'l-Faraj al-Jauzī, died 597/1200, Brockelmann I, 500.

² Here begins the quotation.

³ See the definition given by Ta'rifāt in Freytag's *Lexicon* sub voce.

⁴ Died 544/1149, Brockelmann, I, 369.

بتعريف حقوق الْمُصْطَفَى عَنْ الطَّحَاوِيِّ¹ أَنَّهُ ذَكَرَهُ فِي شَرْحِ [53] مُشْكِلِ الْحَدِيثِ وَقَالَ رَوَى عَنْ طَرِيقَيْنِ صَحِيحَيْنِ عَنْ أَسْمَاءَ بِنْتِ عَمِيسَ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَ رَأْسُهُ فِي حَجَرٍ عَلَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَهُوَ يُوحَى إِلَيْهِ وَذَكَرَتْهُ وَقَتَهُ (وفيه Ms.) فَقَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَصَلَّيْتَ الْعَصْرَ فَقَالَ لَا فَقَالَ⁵ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّهُ كَانَ فِي طَاعَتِكَ وَطَاعَةِ رَسُولِكَ فَأَرَدْتُ عَلَيْهِ الشَّمْسَ قَالَتْ أَسْمَاءُ فَرَأَيْتُهَا طَلَعَتْ بَعْدَ مَا غَرَبَتْ وَوَقَفْتُ عَلَى رُؤْسِ الْجِبَالِ. وَذَلِكَ بِالصَّهْبَاءِ² فِي خَيْبَرَ قَالَ الطَّحَاوِيُّ وَهَاتَانِ الرَّوَايَتَانِ ثَابِتَتَانِ وَرَوَاتُهَا ثِقَاتٌ قَالَ الطَّحَاوِيُّ كَانَ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ صَالِحٍ يَقُولُ لَا يَنْبَغِي لِمَنْ سَبِيلُهُ الْعِلْمُ التَّخَلُّفُ عَنْ حَدِيثِ¹⁰ أَسْمَاءَ لَا أَنَّهُ مِنْ عِلَامَاتِ النَّبُوَّةِ وَقَوْلُهُ صَارَتْ صَلَوةُ الْعَصْرِ قَضَاءً قُلْتُ إِذَا كَانَ رَجُوعُ الشَّمْسِ مِنْ عِلَامَاتِ صَحَّةِ نَبُوَّةِ نَبِيِّنَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَكَذَا تَصْمِيرُ صَلَاةِ الْعَصْرِ أَدَاءً حُكْمًا لِأَنَّ الْقَضَاءَ يَحْكِي الْفَائِتَ وَالْعَكْبُ مِنْ هَذَا وَقَدْ ثَبَتَ فِي الصَّحِيحِ أَنَّ الشَّمْسَ حَبِسَتْ لِيُوشَعَ بْنِ نُونٍ وَلَا يَخْلُو إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ ذَلِكَ مُعْجِزَةً¹⁵ لِمُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ [33^a] أَوْ لِيُوشَعَ فَإِنْ كَانَ لِمُوسَى فَنَبِيِّنَا صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ أَفْضَلُ وَعَلَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَقْرَبُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ يُوشَعَ إِلَى مُوسَى وَأَنْ كَانَ مُعْجِزَةً لِيُوشَعَ فَلَا خِلَافَ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَفْضَلُ مِنْ يُوشَعَ لِأَنَّ أَذْنَى أَحْوَالِهِ أَنْ يَكُونَ كَوَاحِدِ (من الأنبياء add) وَقَدْ قَالَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ عَلَيْهِ عُلَمَاءُ أُمَّتِي كَأَنْبِيَاءِ²⁰

¹ Died 321/933, Brock., I, 173.

² The author of *Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos* (wrote about 942/1535), ed. van den Ham, Leyden 1890, p. 243, quotes this hadith almost verbatim.

[53] بنى اسرائيل فعلم ان الحديث ثابت، وفي الباب حكاية عجيبة
 حكاها جماعة من مشايخنا قالوا جلس ابو منصور المظفر
 ابن اردشير العبادي الواعظ¹ بالتاجية مدرسة بباب ابرز ببغداد
 بعد العصر وذكر حديث رَدَّ الشَّمْسُ وشرع في فضائل اهل البيت
 ٥ فنشأت سحابة غطت الشمس حتى ظن الناس انها قد غابت
 فقام ابو منصور على المنبر قائماً وأوصى الى الشمس وارتجل في الحال
 وقال [الكامل]

لا تَغْرُبِي يَا شَمْسُ حِينَ يَنْتَهِي * مَدْحِي لِآلِ الْمُصْطَفَى وَلِنَجَلِهِ
 وَأَتْنِي عَنَّاكَ إِنْ أَرَدْتَ ثَنَاءَهُمْ * أَنْسَيْتِ إِذْ كَانَ الْوُقُوفُ لِأَجَلِهِ
 ١٠ إِنْ كَانَ لِلْمَوْتِ وَقُوفُكَ فَلْيَكُنْ * هَذَا الْوُقُوفُ لِحَيْلِهِ وَلِرَجَلِهِ
 . وطلعت الشمس فلا يدري ما دومي² عليه من الأموال والبثاث.

In conclusion follows a lengthy poem bearing on this hadith by Ibn 'Abbâd called Kâfi'l-Kufât (died 385).

It is clear from this account that the legend wavers between the standstill of the sun (see the legend quoted at the beginning; 15 the verses just quoted speak in the same way of "Wuḡûf") and its rising again, the latter being represented in the hadith attributed to Asmâ. The two forms of the legend bear the same relation to one another as the solar miracle of Joshua (Joshua 10, 13) to the one under Hezekiah (II Kings 20, 11; 20 Is. 38, 8).

The hadith owes its origin to the Shiitic tendency to pattern the biography of Ali, the "waṣī" (legatee, cf. Introd. p. 22) of Muhammed, after Joshua, the waṣī of Moṣes. See another instance of this tendency, Shahr. 132. I believe for this reason 25 that the miracle referred to p. 69³ is originally a Shiitic invention and its transfer to Muhammed a polemical attempt on the part of the Sunnites.

¹ Died 547^b.

² Or دومي. I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this sentence.

[53] — L. 9. I am not certain as to the meaning of this line. Does the reference to the nearness of age (see note 9) imply a reproach against Asmâ, the author of the hadith? I cannot make out what the reference to the multitude of people, which⁵ is missing in L. Br., is meant to convey here.

— L. 12. The doctrine of Badâ (i. e. “pleasing”: if anything pleases God, he may change a previous decision) presupposes the belief in the changeability of the Divine Will (cf. p. 66²⁵) and is a counterpart of the orthodox belief in¹⁰ *Naskh* (the abolition by God of a previously revealed Law). Generally this doctrine is regarded as a specific tenet of the Keisâniyya, Bagd. 11^b; Makr. 352²; Iji, who makes no mention of the Keisâniyya, enumerates in their stead the Badâ’iyya (348⁴). This belief is supposed to have been invented *ad hoc*¹⁵ by Mukhtâr (p. 79¹⁷) when, contrary to his prophecies, he was defeated in battle, Bagd. 15^a; Isfr. 11^a; Shahr. 110. Wellhausen, however, points out (*Opp.* 88) that, according to Tab. II, 732¹⁰ and 706¹⁴, it was ‘Abdallah b. Nauf who originated this doctrine, in opposition to Mukhtâr.¹

²⁰ The Zeidite Suleimân b. Jarîr (p. 136⁷) makes the Rawâfiḍ (= Imâmiyya, Appendix A) in general responsible for this belief, Shahr. 119 penult.² IBab., however, (I’tikadat fol. 6^a) protests against those who charge the Imamites with Badâ. These people merely imitate the Jews who prefer the same charge (he²⁵ apparently means *Naskh*) against the Muslims. He quotes Ja’far aṣ-Ṣâdîk as saying that he who believes in Badâ is a Kâfir.³

A curious instance of the application of the Badâ doctrine is quoted IATH. VIII, 21. Abû’l-Khaṭṭâb (p. 112) and his adher-³⁰ents claimed that no sword could do them any harm. But when some of them had been executed, he resorted to the pretext: “since it pleased God to do otherwise, how can I help it”?²

إذا كان قد بدا لله فما حيلتي.

¹ It must be remarked, however, that Tab. II, 732¹⁰, a variant, reads Mukhtâr instead of ‘Abdallah b. Nauf.

² This passage is quoted Anon. Sufi fol. 120^a in the name of Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzî (died 606^b).

³ The text of this passage is apparently corrupt and does not allow of a reproduction.

— L. 13, I have not been able to find an authority for [53] this statement. The number of (official) wives legally permitted by law is four, Koran 4, 4.

— L. 14. On similar dietary restrictions by a Carmathian missionary see later p. 76¹⁴. The prohibition of cabbage is very ⁵ old. The pagans considered the eating of it disgraceful and the Harranians in later times clung to the same custom, Chwolsohn, *Ssabier* II, 110. In our passage apparently the red cabbage is referred to. The reason given for the prohibition reminds one vividly of the popular Shiitic notion—which ¹⁰ originally was no doubt but a poetical figure—that the sunset glow represents the blood of al-Husein and never existed before, Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 331.

— L. 18. This notion is probably the consequence of the great emphasis laid by the Shiites on the significance of the ¹⁵ name Ali ("Exalted"). One is reminded of Koran 19, 8, where the prediction of Yahya's (John's) birth is followed by the solemn declaration لَمْ نَجْعَلْ لَهُ مِنْ قَبْلُ سَمِيًّا. Comp. also the stress laid on the identity of the Mahdi's name with that of the Prophet, p. 53. 20

54, l. 1. Comp. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* B 13.—"Von ihm ²⁰ [54] (i. e., Ali b. Bekr. b. Wail) kommen alle, die im Stamme Nizâr mit ihrem Geschlechtsnamen 'Alawî genannt werden" (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, from Nawawî).

— Note 1. See Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* C 13. 25

— L. 3. Azd. see ib., e. g., 11^{19, 21}; Bajila, e. g., 9¹⁶.

— Note 2. Ali b. Jasr b. Muhârib b. Khasafa, ib. D 10.—Ali b. Mas'ûd, 11¹⁹.—'Abd Manât, N 9.—Hisn, grandson of Ali b. Mas'ûd, C 15.

— L. 5. 'Âmir b. at-Tufail, a contemporary of the Prophet, ³⁰ ib. E 20. His kunya Abû 'Alî, see Agh., *Tables* sub voce ابو على.

— L. 9. This conception is not specifically Shiitic but rather belongs to the domain of Kalâm. Makr. 348¹⁰, at the end of his account on the Mu'tazila, mentions a special sect المُنْتِزِعَةُ الْقَائِلُونَ ³⁵

بِفَنَاءِ الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ. I. H. refers to it more explicitly Ed. IV, 83³¹ ff. in a special chapter on "the eternal existence of the

[54] residents of Paradise and Hell": "All sects of the (Muhammedan) Community agree that there is no decay for Paradise and its pleasure nor for Hell and its pain. The only exceptions are Jahm b. Safwân; Abû'l-Huðeil al-'Allâf and *some of the Rawâfið*.
 5 Jahm maintains that both Paradise and Hell will decay and their residents as well.¹ Abû'l-Huðeil, however, maintains that neither Paradise and Hell nor their residents will decay. But the movements of the latter will decay and they will remain in an immovable state like a mineral. In spite of it, they will
 10 be alive and enjoy pleasure and suffer pain respectively. The party of the Rawâfið referred to above believes that the residents of Paradise will leave Paradise and the residents of Hell will leave Hell for some unknown destination (lit.: whither it is Allah's desire)."² See Iji 336; Makr. 349²⁸.—On Abû'l-
 15 Huðeil's view see de Boer, p. 51.

A certain heretic by the name of 'Abdallah b. 'Abdallah b. Shuneif attacks a friend of I. H. on account of his belief in the eternity of Paradise and Hell, Ed. I, 19.

— L. 11. The eternity of the world is taught by the Mu'am-
 20 mariyya, a section of the Khatṭâbiyya, p. 114¹¹, see Shahr. 137 = Makr. 352⁸; Iji 346. This belief is the outcome of the doctrine of Transmigration (Makr.), as the latter, taking the place of Reward and Punishment after death, dispenses with Resurrection and accordingly with the establishment of a new world.
 25 Isfr 57^b is apparently aware of this connection when he curtly remarks: *أَنَّ الدُّنْيَا لَا تَفْنَى وَكَانُوا يُنْكِرُونَ الْقِيَامَةَ وَيَقُولُونَ*
بِتَنَاسُخِ الْأَرْوَاحِ.

The way this view is contrasted with the belief in the decay of Paradise and Hell suggests a connection between them. In
 30 point of fact, the belief in Transmigration, when carried out logically, not only necessitates the eternity of this world, but, fulfilling the function of Reward and Punishment, dispenses altogether with Paradise and Hell. IBab., *I'tikâdât* 12^b

¹ Comp. Kashi 177: an-Nazzâm (p. 58⁶) said to Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam (p. 65¹¹): "The residents of Paradise will not exist in Paradise an eternal existence" and so forth.

² The last words most probably refer to the belief mentioned later, p. 85¹⁷ ff.

fully recognizes this connection: [54] والقول بالتناسخ باطلٌ ومنّ دان بالتناسخ فهو كافر لأنّ في التناسخ إبطال الجنة والنار.

— L. 12, ff. Bekrî, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Alger, 1857, p. 161, gives a brief description of this sect which offers several important points of comparison with the account of I. H. I give Bekrî's passage in translation: "To the right of the Banû Mâgûs there is a tribe called Banû Lamâs. They are all Rawâfiḍ and known under the name Bajaliyyûn. There settled in their midst a Bajalite¹ of the people of Naḡṣa in Ḳastilia, before Abû 'Abdallah ash-Shî'î entered Ifrikiya.² His name was Muhammed b. Wrstd

(ورستد sic). He called upon them (read ودعاهم) to denounce the Companions (of the Prophet) and permitted them forbidden things . . . They still adhere to his doctrine to this day and (believe) that the Imamate is permissible only in the descendants of al-Ḥasan, not in those of al-Ḥusein. Their ruler was Idris Abû'l-Ḳâsim b. Muhammed b. Ja'far b. 'Abdallah b. Idris."

The name of the founder of this sect appears here in a different form. IHauḳal 65²¹ (=Yakut I, 320) agrees with I. H. in calling him ابن ورسند, but they omit the mention of his first name. The name and pedigree of their ruler are altogether different and I have no means to decide which are the correct ones.³

As regards the cardinal doctrine of this sect—the limitation of the Imamate to the Ḥasanides—Bekrî agrees with I. H. (55, l. 5). In contradiction with it, IHauḳal (=Yakut) reports that they were Mûsawites (cf. p. 40), i. e. acknowledged the Imamate of Mûsa b. Ja'far, who was descended from al-Ḥusein. The former statement is no doubt correct, as the Idrisides who ruled over them were Ḥasanides.

— L. 14. On Naḡṣa see Yakut IV, 800. It is two days' journey from Ḳafṣa, mentioned in the same line, ib. Ḳafṣa, a small place (بلدة صغيرة), lies three days from Keirowan, ib.

¹ رجل بجلى, of the tribe Bajîla?

² i. e. before 280^h.

³ Gen. Leyd. omits the Idrisides in Africa.

[54] IV, 151. Ḳastilia mentioned here is not the Spanish province, but a region in Northwest Africa on the great Zâb, Yakut IV, 97; see also I, 892, IV, 151. The emendation proposed, note 11, is not necessary.

5 It is worthy of notice that the people of this region, from which the founder of this Shiitic sect came, were Khârijites, Yakut IV, 97, 800.

— L. 16. The city mentioned here is as-Sûs al-Aksa. It is fully two months' journey from as-Sûs al-Adna, Yakut III, 10 189.—On the Maşmûda tribes, see Kremer, *Ideen* 383, note.

[55] 55, l. 2. According to IHaukal (=Yakut) ib. the two parties of the city (the others were Mâlikites) alternately worshipped in the same mosque.

— L. 3. The prohibition seems to be of Hindoo origin. The 15 Laws of Manu V, 5, forbid the priest to eat (among other things): “garlick, onions, leeks and mushrooms, and *all vegetables raised in dung*.” Comp. Chwolsohn, *Ssabier* II, 109.

— Note 1. On ‘Abdallah b. Yâsîn, the founder of the Almoravide dynasty (middle 11th century), see Dozy, *Isl.* 359 ff. 20 The by-name al-Muṭṭawwi‘ I have not found elsewhere.

— L. 7. See also Text, p. 80, l. 2. On Abû Kâmil, see Bagd. 121^a, 136^a; Shahr. 133; Iji 343; Makr. 352.

— L. 17. See also Text 80, l. 4. The author of this contention, which is certainly not unjustified, is unfortunately not 25 known. The contention itself is not mentioned in the other sources.

— L. 22. المتوسطة في الغلو more literally “who occupy the middle as regards ‘extremism’.” From the point of view of ġuluww the Shi‘a appears divided into three parts: the Zei- 30 diyya who are entirely free from it, the Imâmiyya who partly adhere to it (comp., e. g., Raj‘â, Tanâsukh, etc.), and the Ġâliya who unflinchingly profess it. The reading of L. Br. (note 6) “who keep back from ġuluww” is thus justified. However this may be, the Imamites themselves protest against 35 any affinity with the Ġulât. IBab., *I’tikâdât* 22^b (in a special chapter نفى الغلو) emphatically declares that they are infidels.

— Note 7. They betray Islam, because both Koran and Hadith insist that Muhammed is the last prophet, comp. Text 47, l. 8 f.

— Note 8. The reading of L. Br. is no doubt correct. Poly- [55] theism is not the charge usually preferred against the Jews by Muhammedan theologians. This would confirm our supposition as to the later date of Codd. L. Br., see Intro. p. 19.

56, l. 3. On the Ġurâbiyya see IKot. 300; Iji 346; Makr. ⁵ 353²²; Bagd. 98^a; Isfr. 58^b. The latter two and Iji state the [56] comparison more elaborately: “more than one raven the other one and one fly the other one.” The adherents of this sect curse the “ṣāhib ar-rîsh,” i. e. Jibrîl. In a parallel between the Rawâfid and the Jews put into the mouth of ash-Sha‘bî (*Ikḍ* 269, ¹⁰ comp. p. 19¹⁰) the two are identified because of their dislike of Gabriel.¹ Bagd. 98^b sorrowfully remarks that the Ġāliya are even worse than the Jews, for the latter, though disliking Gabriel, yet abstain from cursing him.

In his polemics against Judaism, I. H. (Ed. I, 138⁹) very ¹⁵ cleverly draws a parallel between the Jews who believe that Isaac confounded Esau with Jacob and the Ġurâbiyya. “This contention (of the Jews) very closely resembles the stupidity of the Ġurâbiyya² among the Râfida who believe that Allah dispatched Jibrîl to Ali,³ but Jibrîl erred and went to Muhammed.²⁰ In the same way Isaac blessed Esau, but the blessing erred and went to Jacob. Upon both parties (may rest) the curse of Allah!”

— L. 13 f. Ali was about thirty years younger than the Prophet (comp. Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 315). Consequently he was ²⁵ ten years old when Muhammed made his first appearance. The same is assumed Ed. IV, 142¹⁵ and in the variant of L. Br. to our passage (note 7). The reading of Ed. seems to be incorrect. But there is a difference of opinion as to the date of Ali’s birth, see I. H. in the quoted passage and Tab. I, 3467¹² ff. ³⁰

— L. 15 ff. On Muhammed’s physical appearance see Ibn Hishâm I, 266; Tab. I, 1789 ff.; Nawawî, *Tahdīb* 32–33. It is interesting to observe that I. H. is unprejudiced enough to point out that Muhammed was above middle-size. The other writers

¹ Allusion to Koran II, 91, comp. Geiger, *Was hat Muhammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen*, p. 13.

² Ed. has الغالية, but V 80^a, and L I, 54^b (which in this section of *Milal* sides with Ed.) have the correct reading.

³ V. + الرسالة والنبوة Ed. L. missing.

[56] anxiously insist that the Prophet was neither short nor tall, but the exact medium between the two.

[57] 57, l. 1 ff. On Ali's appearance see Tab. I, 3470' (=IAth. III, 333); Tahdib 441 penult.—Sibt, *Imams* fol. 4^a, gives a

5 similar description of Ali: **كَانَ آدَمَ شَدِيدَ الْأَدْمَةِ عَظِيمَ الْعَيْنَيْنِ**

غَلِيظَ السَّاعِدَيْنِ أَقْرَبَ إِلَى الْقَصْرِ مِنَ الطُّوْلِ عَرِيضَ الْحَيَةِ

أَضْلَعَ (أَصْلَعَ) أَبْيَضَ الرَّأْسِ وَالْحَيَةِ. Ali looked particularly short because of his corpulence. Whenever Ali appeared on the market of Kufa, the satirical Persians would exclaim

10 **بِزْرَثْ أَشْكَنْبَ آمَدَ** “Here comes the big-bellied man!” (ZDMG.

38, 392, from Madâinî). It is characteristic that both Sunnitic and Shiitic writers anxiously avoid to mention this feature of Ali which is so repugnant to the Arabic taste. Of all the sources at my disposal I find, besides the reference quoted

15 above, only one more allusion to it in *Ikd* II, 274 (بطيناً).

— L. 11. The number 23 is not exact. The interval between Muhammed's first appearance and his death was 21½ lunar years; see the list in Sprenger, *Leben Muhammed's* I, 205.

— L. 12. On ظريف (note 17) see p. 55¹⁶.

20 58, l. 3. The exclusive (note 3) reverence of Ali is characteristic of several sects: the Sabâiyya (Text 71¹⁸) and the ‘Ulyâniyya and Nuṣeiriyya, which, according to I. H. (Text 66, l. 17 and 71, l. 18), are branches of the former.

— L. 4 ff. The persons named in the following are the 25 twelve Imams of the Ithnâ‘ashariyya. The biographical data concerning these Imams can best be learned from the list in Abu'l-Maali, p. 164–165, see Schefer's Introduction, p. 184 f. A more detailed account Diyarbekri II, 286–288. The omission (in l. 6) of the tenth Imam, Ali b. Muhammed (al-Hâdi at-Taḳî, 30 born 214, died 254), is, it seems, not accidental. For in accordance with it, Ali (l. 7) is changed to Muhammed. The same omission and the same change are exhibited by Codd. L. Br. Text p. 76, note 4 and 5.¹ Whether this peculiar error is due to his proximity to the eighth Imam, who bears the same name, 3 or to some more significant circumstance, is difficult to determine.

¹ Ed. IV, 103 ^{10,11} his genealogy is given correctly.

— Note 6. It is worthy of note that the benediction رَحْمَةً is [58] added only after the name of Ja'far. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (died 146) was not only the patron-saint of the Shiites. He was also highly esteemed by the Sunnites, see p. 105¹². Cf. ZDMG. 50, 123.

— L. 10. On the Carmathians, see p. 19, l. 32. Muhammed ⁵ b. Ismâ'îl at-Tâmm, "the Completer," is the seventh and last "open" Imam in the belief of the Sab'iyya, or "Seveners." After him begins the series of hidden Imams, Shahr. 127 ff., 146. The Carmathian missionary Yahya b. Dîkrweih pretended that he was this Muhammed, Tab. III, 2218 (anno 289). ¹⁰

— L. 12. Read: "This is a party." On the Keisâniyya, see p. 33 ff. The Keisâniyya do not agree as to whether Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafîyya inherited the Imamate directly from Ali, or indirectly through Ḥasan and Ḥusein, Shahr. 110. Kuthayyir (p. 134²⁸) speaks of *four* Imams, comp. Barbier de ¹⁵ Meynard in *Journal Asiatique*, 1874, p. 164.

— L. 13. On Mukhtâr, see Shahr. 110 (he distinguishes between the Keisâniyya and Mukhtâriyya). Very elaborate accounts on Mukhtâr with specimens of his *saj'* can be found Bagd. 12^b ff.; Isfr. 10^b ff. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 74 ff., gives an ²⁰ elaborate sketch of his personality.

59, l. 1 ff. On Muğîra see the passages in Index.—Text 34, [59] n. 5, Ed. and Codd. have bnu Abî Sa'id. Ed. I, 112 ult. and elsewhere correctly. Sa'd instead of Sa'id occurs *Agh.* XIX, 58, *Ikd* 267. Abu'l-Maali 157, gives him the by-name ²⁵ اثير. According to Shahr. 134, Makr. 353¹ (=de Sacy XLVI) he was a "client" of Khâlid al-Ḳasrî, who afterwards executed him. It is possible, however, that this is a mere inference drawn from the fact that Khâlid's clan Ḳaṣr belonged, as did Muğîra (l. 2), to the Bajîla tribe (IKot. 203; IKhall. No. 212). He ³⁰ is specifically designated as al-'Ijlî (of the Banû 'Ijl) Shahr. 134; Iji 344; Makr. 349², 353¹; Bagd. 95^b; Isfr. 54^b, 56^a; Tabarî Index (in the text the statement is missing). This is significant in connection with van Vloten, *Worgers*, p. 57, and later, p. 89²⁶ ff. Muğîra rose against Khâlid b. 'Abdallah al-Ḳasrî, the ³⁵ wâli of Kufa, in 119, accompanied by twenty (*Kâmil* ed. Wright 20¹⁵; Makr. 353²), according to Tab. II, 1621^b only by seven men. Despite their small number they spread such terror around them (the reason, see p. 92¹² ff.), that Khâlid, who chanced

[59] to be in the pulpit when he heard of their uprising, came near fainting and asked for a glass of water, an action which made him the object of general ridicule, *Kāmīl* ib., *Agh.* XIX, 58, XV, 121 (here they are called by the general name al-Ja'fariyya, ⁵ see p. 107¹²), *Makr.* 353², van Vloten, *Worgers*, 58. The rebels were crucified, *Tab.* I, 1620²; *IKot.* 300 ("in Wāsiṭ"); *Ikḍ* 267 (probably quotation from *IKot.*). According to another version (*Tab.* 1620^b ff.; *I. H.* Text 60, l. 17; *Ikḍ* ib.), they were burned at the stake.

¹⁰ An exposition of Muḡīra's doctrines is found *Shahr.*, *Iji*, *Makr.*, *IKot.*, *Ikḍ*, very elaborately *Bagd.* 95^b and, more briefly, *Isfr.* 56^a. His tenets, which show all the earmarks of "ḡulnww," seem to have exercised a powerful influence in ultra-Shiitic circles. The Imamites solicitously reject any connection ¹⁵ with Muḡīra, see the article on Muḡīra, *Kāshī* 145 ff. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣāḍik is reported as saying that all the extravagant views to be found in the writings of his father's (Muhammed al-Bāḡir's, died 117^b) followers are forgeries of Muḡīra, ib. 146, 147.

His system, if system it be called, presents an odd mixture of ²⁰ ancient Eastern beliefs and distinctly shows the influence of gnostic, notably of Mandæan and Manichæan, doctrines. The Mandæans were very numerous in Irāk; at the time of the Abbassides they are said to have had there 400 churches. Their head resided in Bagdad.¹ The Manichæans, too, were identi- ²⁵ fied with 'Irāk. Mani was born in Babylonia, and he was believed (according to al-Birūnī) to have been sent to the people of Babylonia only. Their head had to reside in Babylonia.² The Harrānians, too, who may be mentioned in this connection, were very numerous in 'Irāk.³ On these influences ³⁰ see van Vloten, *Chiitisme* 47; Blochet 135, the latter also in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, XL (1899), p. 25, note 1.⁴

It can scarcely be doubted that ultimately all these influences root in the ancient religion of Babylonia; see Kessler *ibidem*,

¹ Kessler, Article "Mandæer" in *PRE*³, XII (1903), p. 172.

² Kessler, Article "Manichæer" *ibidem*, p. 226, Flügel, *Mani* 97, 105.

³ Chwolsohn, *Sabier* I, 482 ff.

⁴ It is perhaps not insignificant that a part of the Banû 'Ijl (see above p. 79³¹) who lived in Baḡrein "completely passed into the Persian nationality." Goldziher, "Islamisme et Parsisme" in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* XLIII (1901), p. 23.

passim, the same, "Gnosis und alt-babylonische Religion" in [59] *Abhandlungen des 5. Orientalistencongresses* (Berlin, 1882), p. 297 ff.

In the following an attempt is made to point out the various sources of Muğîra's doctrines. It does not claim to be more ⁵ than an attempt. A closer acquaintance with the religions and literatures under consideration will no doubt bring to light far more numerous points of contact.¹

— L. 5. The corporeal conception of the Godhead was current in Shiitic circles, see, e. g., p. 67. The crown in this con- ¹⁰ nection is found in various philosophemes. In the Cabbala the "Crown" (כֶּתֶר) is the highest of the Ten Sefiroth (Spheres). The latter are represented in the shape of a man with a crown on his head; comp. the diagram in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* I, 181^b and in the *Hebrew Encyclopedia* (אוֹצֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל), New ¹⁵ York, 1907, I, 183. See also later, p. 83.

According to Shahr.; Makr. 349^a; Bagd. 95^b f. and others, Muğîra believed that God was a man of *light* bearing a crown of *light*. This reminds one of the Mandæan doctrine of the "King of Light." Brandt, *Mandäische Religion* (Göttingen ²⁰ 1889) §§ 19–20, 80–81; the same, *Mandäische Schriften* (Göttingen 1893), p. 13–19.

— L. 6. Bagd. 96^a is less scrupulous and adds two more instances: 'Ain for the eye and Hâ for the pudenda. A very similar description of God is quoted in the name of the Gnos- ²⁵ tics by Irenaeus, *adversus Haereticos*² XIV, 3. A Jewish parallel, see in Gaster, "Das Schiur Komah," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 37 (1893), p. 225. Similar speculations about the shape of the letters in the name אל and אס (the latter in Kûfic, see Blochet, 133, 192. ³⁰

— L. 12 ff. This peculiar theory of Creation is evidently the reflection of a Gnostic doctrine. Irenaeus, *adversus Haeret.* XIV 1, reports a similar theory in the name of the Gnostic

¹ I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my friend and colleague, Prof. Louis Ginzberg, who lent me his effectual aid in pointing out the Rabbinical illustrations, the latter, too, bearing witness to the same influences. I profited by his valuable advice also in other parts of this treatise.

² The following quotations all refer to the *first* Book.

[59] Marcus¹: "When first the unoriginated, inconceivable Father, who is without material substance, and is neither male nor female, willed to bring forth that which is ineffable in Him, and to endow with form that which is invisible, He opened His
5 mouth, and sent forth the Word, similar to Himself . . .

Moreover, the pronunciation of His name took place as follows: He spake the first word of it which was the beginning [of all the rest] and that utterance consisted of four letters. He added the second," and so forth. In Jewish Mysticism similar
10 notions can be traced. Comp. Menakhoth 29^b: "God created the two worlds (this and the future world) through the letters Hê and Yôd (constituting the Divine name Yâh)." See also Berakhoth 55^a. A similar theory is elaborately set forth in Sefer Yešîrah and is to be found in other ancient mystical
15 works. It may be mentioned in this connection that under the influence of a similar notion the Mandæan verb קרא "to call" has assumed the meaning "to create." See Kessler, art. "Mandæer" *ibid.* p. 164³⁹ and p. 165.

— L. 12. The "Greatest Name" is, as was already pointed
20 out by de Sacy XLVII, note, identical with the "Shêm ha-Mephôrash," the "Ineffable Name" which occupies so prominent a place in the Jewish mystical speculations of all ages (see M. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Berlin 1901), p. 238 ff.; *Revue des Études Juives* 19, 290 f.). It plays an important part in
25 Islam as well, and here, too, the belief is current that by means of the Ineffable Name all miracles can be easily performed; see, e. g., *Ikd* 396, and (as an illustration) IKhall. No. 756.² Most of the sources dealing with Muğîra report that he claimed

¹ I quote the translation of Roberts and Rambaut, Edinburgh, 1868.

² According to I. H., the Jews believed that the sorcerers were able to resuscitate the dead by means of Divine names and that Jesus was able to do the same and to perform miracles generally by the same means, Cod. V 92^b (missing in Cod. L and Ed. I, 156, which is shorter in this part of the work): فَإِنَّهُمْ كُلَّهُمْ مَتَّفِقُونَ عَلَى أَنَّ السَّحَرَةَ

يُحْيِيُونَ الْمَوْتَى حَقِيقَةً بِأَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ . . . وَهُمْ لَا يَخْتَلِفُونَ فِي أَنَّ عِيسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ كَانَ يَعْمَلُ الْآيَاتِ بِتِلْكَ الْأَسْمَاءِ الْكَاذِبَةِ الَّتِي لِلَّهِ; comp. S. Krauss in *Jewish Encyclopedia* VII, 171^a.

to be able to perform miracles and resuscitate the dead through [59] his knowledge of the "Greatest Name." Tab. ib. puts into his mouth the typical utterance that he had the power to bring to life the 'Âd and Thamûd and the generations that were between them.¹

— L. 13. Instead of *فوقع على تاجه* "and it (the Greatest Name) fell (L. Br.: *flew and fell*) on his crown," Bagd., Shahr.

and Iji 343 give the important variant *فوقع على رأسه تاجًا* "fell upon his head as a crown." He referred, as Shahr. and

Bagd. tell us, to Koran 87, 1: *وَسَبِّحْ اسْمَ رَبِّكَ الْأَعْلَى الَّذِي*¹⁰

وزعم ان الاسم الأعلى انما هو and, as Bagd. explains, *وَسَوَّى*

ذلك التاج "he assumed that the Highest Name was identical with this very crown." The same conception of the identity of the "Shêm ha-Mephôrash" with the Crown is frequently found in the Cabbala. It takes the form that the name was¹⁵ engraved upon the Crown, see *Jew. Enc.* IV, 370^a and 372^b (the references can be multiplied).—On the crown of the Mandæan "King of Light" see Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften* 13–19. The Mandæan priests wear during the service a crown (tâj) on the right upper arm, Kessler, article "Mandæer," p. 214 ult.²⁰

— L. 14. Apart from the words left out in Ed. (note 6), the passage reflects the ancient idea, also found in the Bible, that man's actions are written down in heaven. The additional words of L. Br. are confirmed by Shahr. 135²: *وقد كتبها على* *كفّه*.²

25

— L. 15 ff. This queer notion, too, has its root in some Gnostic doctrine. Irenæus, *adv. Hæret.* IV, 2, commenting upon the Gnostic belief that from the tears of Achamoth

¹ This is no doubt the original version. According to IKot. and (probably quoting) Ikd 267, he claimed this power for Ali. This may partly be the reason why these two writers designate Muğîra as one of the Sabâiyya. For the latter was considered as the party of Ali *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, see p. 101²⁷.

² Prof. Ginzberg suggests a connection with Is. 49, 16: "Behold I have engraved thee on my palms." It may be the consequence of some mystic interpretation of this verse.

[59] (חֲכָמִית) "all that is of a liquid nature was formed," funnily remarks that he could easily enlarge upon it. "For when I perceive that waters are in part fresh . . . and in part salt, . . . I reflect with myself that all such waters cannot be derived
 5 from her tears, inasmuch as these are of a saline quality only. It is clear, therefore, that the waters which are salt are alone those which are derived from her tears. But it is probable that she, in her intense agony and perplexity, was covered with perspiration. And hence, following out their notion, we may
 10 conceive that fountains and rivers, and all the fresh waters in the world, are due to this source." A somewhat similar idea is found in the Talmud (Hagiga 13^b): "Whence does the stream Dînûr (Daniel 7, 10) come? From the perspiration of the Holy living Creatures." [Cf. Bereshith Rabba, ch. 78.]

15 The two lakes, then, are formed of the Divine tears and the Divine perspiration respectively. They no doubt correspond to the *mâyê siyâwê* and the *mâyê hîwârê*, the "dark and white waters" of the Mandæans; see Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, pp. 30, 43, 51, etc.—Instead of "sweet" (ll. 17 and 22) read
 20 "fresh."

— L. 18 ff. The same conception is found in several Gnostic systems, notably among the Mandæans. "When Life . . . had thus spoken, Abatur rose and opened the gate. He looked into the Dark Water, and at the same hour was formed his image
 25 in the Dark Water. Ptahil² was formed and he ascended the Place of the Borders."

Illustrative of l. 19 is the passage in Irenaeus XIV, 1: "The world, again, and all things therein, were made by a certain company of seven angels. Man, too, was the workmanship of
 30 angels, a shining image bursting forth below from the presence of the Supreme power; and when they could not, he says, keep hold of this, because it immediately darted upwards again, they exhorted each other saying: let us make man after our image and likeness."

35 — L. 20. Out of the two eyes of the shadow only two luminaries could naturally be formed. For this reason I disre-

¹ Comp. also Kessler, article "Manichæer," p. 236 ult.: "The rain was considered to be the perspiration of the toiling archont."

² =Gabriel, the Demiurge of the Mandæans.

³ Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, p. 184, see also Kessler, ib. p. 210.

gard the additional reading of L. (note 12).¹ Shahr. 135⁴ and [59] very similarly Bagd. speak of the sun and the moon. But our text seems to reflect a more complicated and, consequently, more original conception. Perhaps one may combine it with the well-known Jewish legend that originally the two lumi-⁵ naries were of equally large size and that the moon was subsequently reduced in size on account of its jealousy.

— L. 22. Sin, and correspondingly Evil as being primitive and co-existent with Creation, is a widespread Gnostic doctrine and is a consequence of Dualism, which is at the bottom of all ¹⁰ Gnostic systems. According to Irenaeus XXIV, 2, Saturninus “was the first to affirm that two kinds of men were formed by the angels,²—the one wicked, and the other good.”³—On the lakes see before.—Instead of “the Faithful,” Makr. 353⁵ has “the Shi‘a.” Bagd. says more explicitly: ¹⁵ الشيعة . . . وهم

المؤمنون. Extremely interesting in this connection is the passage Ed. IV, 69⁴: “Some people among the Rawâfiḍ are of the opinion that the spirits of the Infidels are in Burhût—this is a well in Ḥaḍramaut⁴—and that the spirits of the Faithful are in another place, I think it is al-Jâbiya.”²⁰

60, l. 1. This view is in all probability a reflection of the [60] Clementine doctrine of the “True Prophet” who appears in various ages under different names and forms, but is in reality one, *Clementine Homilies* III, 12 ff., 20; *Recognitiones* I, 16. He is called Christ but he is also identical with Adam, *Recogn.* ²⁵ I, 45, 47. The persons in whom the true Prophet revealed himself are given *Homilies* XVII, 4 (in a statement by Simon Magus) as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses; in XVIII, 13 (in a reply by Peter) as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob [and Christ]. In both the number ³⁰

¹ Br. reads like Ed.—Note 12 is to be corrected accordingly.

² See above p. 84²⁹.

³ See a similar conception of the origin of evil, *Clementine Homilies* XX, 8, 9; XIX, 12 ff.

⁴ See Yakut I, 598, where this belief is derived from a tradition transmitted from the Prophet, Ali and Ibn ‘Abbâs. Interesting is the remark that the water of this well is dark and stinking. al-Jâbiya is in Syria, *ibidem* and II, 4.

⁵ Comp. *Ma‘âni an-Nafs*, ed. Goldziher, p. 62*.

[60] seven is evidently intended. This is important in view of the numerous Shiitic doctrines which are based on the same number of prophets (see Index s.v. Seven).—The conception of the “true Prophet” is complemented, it seems, by the Clementine belief that God has the power of changing himself: “for through his inborn Spirit He becomes, by a power which cannot be described, whatever body He likes” (*Homilies* XX, 6). This is practically the doctrine of Incarnation, which is of such fundamental significance for the Ultra-Shi‘a.—Another instance of the adaptation of a Clementine doctrine, see p. 116 n. 2.

— L. 2. Jâbir died 128 or, according to another version, 132 (Tab. III, 2501). Either date contradicts the statement Bagd. 97^a that he was among those who expected the “return”

of Muhammed b. ‘Abdallah (see l. 10) who died in 145: وهماؤلاء

يُقال لهم المكمّدية من الرافضة لانتظارهم محمد بن عبد الله

ابن الحسن بن الحسن وكان جابر الجعفي على هذا المذهب, see also 17^b. Jâbir was a passionate admirer of Ali and main-

tained that the latter was meant by دابة الارض “the beast of the Earth” (Koran 34, 13); Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 113, comp. ZDMG. 38, 391.—The Imamites consider his traditions trustworthy, Kashi 126. He is briefly mentioned Tusy p. 73, No. 139.

— L. 3. ‘Âmir b. Shurâhîl ash-Sha‘bî (ash-Shu‘bî is misprint) died 103 or 104. The sources dealing with this celebrated traditionist are enumerated *Fihrr.* 183 note 14.—Shahr. 145 counts him among the Shi‘a. He appears *Ikḍ* 269 (=Isfr. 15^a) as a bitter enemy of the Rawâfîd. But the utterances put into his mouth are no doubt spurious. [See Index s.v. ash-Sha‘bî.]

— L. 4. Khâlîd al-Ḳasrî (Ḳasr, a clan of the Bajîla) was executed in the year 126 by his successor in the governorship of Kufa, Yûsuf b. ‘Omar ath-Thakafî, in a most barbarous manner. See on Khâlîd, *IKhall.* No. 212; *IKot.* 203; *Agh.* XIX, 53 ff.; Flügel, *Mani* 320–322. He frequently appears in our text as a relentless persecutor of heretics. But the motive for his attitude was evidently not religious zeal but loyalty to the Omeyyad dynasty, which was threatened by these heretics. His own orthodoxy was of a rather problematic nature. He was a

powerful protector of the Manichæans (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 105), [60] and his mother was a Christian. His achievements in the extermination of heretics were rewarded by a ḥadith in which the Prophet announces to his ancestor Asad b. Kurz that Islam will be victorious through his descendants, Goldziher, *Muh. St.* 5 II, 45 f.

— L. 6. I find no reference bearing on Bekr, except the notice Bagd. 97^a: فَلَمَّا مَاتَ جَابِرٌ ادَّعَى بَكْرَ الْأَعْوَرِ الْكُجَرِيَّ: الْقَتَاتِ وَصِيَّةَ جَابِرٍ إِلَيْهِ وَزَعَمَ أَنَّهُ لَا يَمُوتُ¹ وَأَكَلَ بِذَلِكَ أَمْوَالَ الْمَغِيرِيَّةِ عَلَى وَجْهِ الشَّخَرِيَّةِ مِنْهُمْ فَلَمَّا مَاتَ بَكْرٌ عَلِمُوا أَنَّهُ كَانَ كَاذِبًا فِي دَعْوَاهُ فَلَعَنُوهُ.

— L. 10. On Muhammed see Text 43. I have not been able to fix the date of his birth and cannot therefore confirm the statement preserved in L. Br. (note 5). Bagd. 17^b and more elaborately 96^a reports that after Muhammed's death the 15 Muġîriyya claimed that a devil was executed in his stead (comp. p. 30¹²) and that he himself was hidden in Ḥājir, in the mountains of Raḍwa (Text 43 n. 7). They also believed that Muhammed would bring to life seventeen men whom he would endow with the seventeen letters of the "Greatest Name", so as to enable 20 them to perform miracles (see p. 82). They adduced in proof of his Imamate his identity in name and father's name with that of the Prophet (comp. p. 53¹⁷).²

The Muġîriyya referred to here are, of course, the *followers* of Muġîra, not Muġîra himself, who died (anno 119) 26 years 25 before Muhammed (145). Bagd. reports the same beliefs in the name of Jâbir al-Ju'fî.

— L. 12. On the sanctity with which water is invested among the Mandæans and which is no doubt of old Babylonian

¹ See for a similar claim p. 113³⁶.

² Isfr. 12^a gives a similar account which is extracted by Haarbrücker II, 412.—It is remarkable that Iji 344 mentions as the Imam of the Muġîriyya not Muhammed but a man named زكريا بن محمد بن عليّ, who is otherwise utterly unknown (Ibidem read حاجر instead of حاجز.)

[60] origin, see Brandt, *Mandäische Religion* 68, note 2 and 69, Kessler, "Über Gnosis und altbabylonische Religion" (*Abhandlungen des 5. Orientalistencongresses*, Berlin 1882), p. 300.

— L. 16. The name of this sectarian appears in the form ⁵بيان and بنان. Ed. as well as Codd. have indiscriminately both (comp., e. g., Ed. I, 112 ult. and Text 34 note 8). The general form, however, is بنان. It is found Shahr. 113 (Haarbrücker 171: Bunân; Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique* 1874 p. 169: Bennân), Kashi (consistently, e. g., 188¹, 195¹¹, ¹⁵ 196¹⁰ etc.); Iji 344 (also quoted in *Dictionary of Technical Terms* sub voce); *Mirza* repeatedly; *Lubb al-Lubâb* s.v. البناني (see Appendix s.v. البياني where the editor argues against the form بيان). In spite of this consensus, the only correct form, as is apparent from the application of the name p. 61, l. 17, also ¹⁵ Bagd. 95^b,¹ is بيان.

On Bayân's teachings see Makr. 349¹, 352²; Bagd. 12^a, 91^a, very elaborately 95^a; Isfr. 56^a. Most writers ascribe to him the same doctrines as to Muğîra. According to Kashi 196, he believed, on the basis of Koran 43, 84, that the God of Heaven ²⁰ and the God of Earth are two different beings. For a similar doctrine see later p. 127¹².²

— L. 17 ff. The following story is given Tab. II, 1620 (anno 119)=Iath. V, 154 in a different presentation.

[61] 61, l. 12 f. Ibn Ḥazm "most emphatically insists on the ²⁵ uncorporeality of God and violently rejects the (Divine) attributes," Kremer, *Ideen* p. 39.

— L. 16. For a very similar example see Text 62, l. 4. I. II. (Ed. IV, 198¹⁸) reports that Aḥmad b. Yânush (Ed. has سابوس, see p. 10²⁰) "pretended to be a prophet, maintaining that it was ³⁰ he who was meant by the saying of Allah (Koran 61, 6): 'Announcing an apostle who will come after me, whose name will be Aḥmad.'"

¹ Whether the application is historically true or not, makes no difference.

² ابن وكيع البناني who is mentioned *Fihrr.* 180^s among the متكلمي المجبرة has certainly nothing to do with Bayân, as is assumed by the editors in note 5.

— L. 18. Abû Hâshim died in Humeima (Palestine) in 78 [61] or 79, Nawawî, *Tahdîb* 369; van Vloten, *Chiitisme* 45. On his alleged concession of the Imamate to the Abbassides see Tab. III, 24, 2500; IKhald. I, 360. Van Vloten (ib. 44) is inclined to ascribe to the Hâshimiyya the initiative to a systematic Shiitic 5 propaganda. However this may be, certain it is that Abû Hâshim, who left no children,¹ presents a turning point in the development of Zeiditic or anti-legitimistic Shiism, in the same way as does Ja'far aş-Şâdiq, on account of his numerous children, in the history of Imamitic or legitimistic Shiism. 10

— Note 17. This addition is in keeping with the Zeiditic principle which demands the personal qualification of the Imam, see Text 75, l. 9.

62, l. 1. On Abû Manşûr see IKot. 300; *Ikd* 267; Shahr. [62] 135 f.; Iji 344; Makr. 353¹⁷; Bagd. 91^a, 97^b; Isfr. 56^b; particu- 15 larly van Vloten, *Worgers* 58. The appellation al-Mustanîr, which is not quite clear, does not occur in the other sources. His nickname "al-Kisf" is explained Shahr. 136 in connection with his assumption that he was lifted up to heaven, then hurled downwards and thus became "a fragment falling down from 20 heaven." According to *Ikd* and Shahr. 136² (the later in contradiction with himself), Abû Manşûr applied this designation to Ali.

— L. 2. Abû Manşûr was by descent (note 3) a member of the 'Ijl to which Muğîra attached himself as maula (Text 59²). 25 Interesting in this connection is the remark of Ibn Faķîh (ed.

de Goeje), p. 185^{1b}: *وكان منهم ابو منصور الخنّاق وكان يتولّى*

“سبعة اذبياء من بنى قريش وسبعة من بنى عجل

(the inhabitants of Kufa who pretended to be prophets) belonged Abû Manşûr the Strangler (see later, p. 92). He chose for his 30 friends (?)² seven prophets out of the Banû Kureish and seven out of the Banû 'Ijl." Comp. van Vloten, *Worgers* 58. On the Banû Ijl, see p. 80, note 4. This remark alludes perhaps

¹ Gen. Leyd., which enumerates only the Alides who left offspring, does not enumerate Abu Hâshim among the children of Ibn al-Hanafiyya.

² Or "favored." The meaning of *تولّى* is not quite clear. See, however, next note.

[62] to the Karmatian theory of the seven prophets and their substitutes (cf. p. 79¹).¹ The significant passage Kashi 187 (parallel 195) may bear some relation to the subject in question. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiḳ makes the following statement: "Allah revealed in the⁵ Koran seven (pseudo-prophets?) with their names. The Kureish, however, struck out six and left only Abû Lahab." When subsequently asked about the saying of Allah (Koran 26, 221-222): "Shall I inform you of those on whom the Satans have descended? Descended they have on every sinful liar,"¹⁰ he replied: "They are seven: al-Muġîra b. Sa'id, Bunân (see p. 88²), Ṣâ'id an-Nahdî, al-Hârith ash-Sha'mî, 'Abdallah b. al-Hârith,² Hamza b. 'Omâra az-Zubeirî³ and Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb (p. 112)." Abû Manṣûr is not mentioned.

— L. 7. According to Makr. 478 ult., the Jewish sectarian¹⁵ Abû 'Îsa al-Iṣbahânî similarly claimed "that he was lifted up to heaven and the Lord patted him on his head." The early Jewish sects under Arabic dominion show a great many traces which remind one of the early Muhammedan sects, especially those of the Shi'a.

²⁰ — L. 9. Curiously enough Kashi 196 relates in the name of a man who had it from Abû Manṣûr himself that God addressed the latter in *Persian* يا پسر.—The reading adopted in our text (note 8) is confirmed by Shahr. 136 l. 4.

— L. 10. The "Word" (Logos) is Christ, as he is often²⁵ styled in Arabic. Comp. Ed. IV, 197²¹: Aḥmad b. Hâ'it and Aḥmad b. Yânûsh, the pupils of an-Nazzâm (see p. 10 f.) "both maintained that the world had two creators: one who is eternal

¹ I am not certain, however, as to the meaning of the passage. تولى which is difficult (see preceding note) may signify "to become a maula"

(see Dozy s.v.). Then the nominative ought to be read: سبعة انبياء . . .⁵ وسبعة and the meaning would be the following: Among the pseudo-prophets in Kufa seven attached themselves as maulas to the Kureish and seven to the 'Ijl. The number seven is in any case noteworthy and hardly accidental. See the Index to this treatise s.v. Seven.

² P. 195 عبد الله بن عمرو بن الحارث. See p. 124³⁴.

³ Var. on the margin اليزيدى; p. 195¹¹ البريدى; 197⁸ اليزيدى.

and this is Allah, and the other one who is created and this is [62] the Word of Allah (كلمة الله), Jesus Christ (المسيح عيسى), the son of Maryam, through whom he created the world." This distinctly points to Christian influence, whether directly (see the quotation from Bagd. in the next note) or through some 5 gnostic medium, must be left open.

— L. 11. According to Shahr. 134, Muḡira b. Sa'īd (p. 79 ff.) similarly believed that the shadows of Muhammed and Ali (Bagd. 95^b mentions the shadow of Muhammed only) were created first. Comp. preceding note. This doctrine is called 10 "tafwīd" and is quoted alongside of "ḡuluww" (Tusy, very frequently, e. g., Nos. 281, 417, 415, 455 speaks instead of

(الغلو والتخليط). IBab., *I'tikadāt* 24^a has a special chapter في ورؤى عن زُرارة¹ أنه: نَفَى الغلو والتفويض 15 قال قلت للمصادق عليه السلام ان رجلاً من ولد عبد الله بن سبا² يقول بالتفويض قال وما التفويض قلت يقول ان الله عز وجل خلق محمداً وعليّاً ثم فوّض الامر اليهما فخلقا ورزقا وأحييا وأماتا فقال كذب عدوّ الله.

Bagd. 98^b states the matter more accurately: وأما المفوضة من 20 الرافضة فنقوم زعموا ان الله تعالى خلق محمداً ثم فوّض اليه تدبير العالم وتقديره فهو الذي خلق العالم دون الله تعالى ثم فوّض محمداً تدبير العالم الى عليّ بن ابي طالب فهو اصحاب التفويض (see preceding page) أصحاب التفويض "the adherents of "Tafwīd" and Mediators (between 25 God and the world)."

¹ On Zurāra b. A'yūn (died 150) see Tusy 141 ff. He was a favorite of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, Fihr. 220. (See also Index to this treatise sub voce Zurāra.)

² See p. 19. ولد apparently stands here for "adherent."

[62] At the bottom of this idea lies the Gnostic discrimination between the "unoriginated, inconceivable Father" and the Word (Logos) emanating from him which is the Demiurge; see preceding note and p. 82¹ ff. See also later, p. 127.

⁵ — L. 12 f. Comp. Ed. I, 77¹¹. Shahr. 136⁵ expresses it negatively *وزعم ايضا ان الرسل لا تنقطع ابدا والرسالة لا تنقطع*. This doctrine is probably the reflection of the Clementine conception of the True Prophet, see p. 85²². It contradicts both Koran and Sunna, which equally insist that Muhammed is the
¹⁰ last prophet (p. 76³⁸).

— L. 15. The same is reported of the Khattâbiyya, p. 14.

— L. 18 ff. Ibn Fakîh (ed. de Goeje) 185¹⁸ speaks of "Abû Manşûr the Strangler." IKot. 300 says briefly: "to them (the Manşûriyya) belong the Stranglers." Shahr. 136⁹ says less
¹⁵ distinctly: "his (Abû Manşûr's) adherents thought it permissible to kill their opponents and take away their property." Assassination is designated as a peculiarity of the Muğiriyya and Manşûriyya (see Index *sub voce* Terrorism). Jâhîz in his *Kitâb al-Hayawân* gives an account of the manners of these
²⁰ terrorists of the eighth century. He who practised both "strangling" and "skull-breaking" was styled "Jâmi'," "Combiner." This extremely curious and interesting passage is reproduced and discussed by van Volten, *Worgers in Iraq* (in a Dutch article. See List of Cited Works *sub voce* van Vloten,
²⁵ *Worgers*). The Thugs in India, whose beginnings date as far back as the first Muhammedan caliphs, also kill their victims by strangling.

The theological substructure for this peculiar tenet is supplied by I. H., Ed. IV, 171¹¹: "The command to do right and
³⁰ the prohibition to do wrong¹ must be carried out with the heart and, if possible, with the tongue. It must not be executed by (employing) the hand nor in any way by drawing the sword or using arms . . . All the Rawâfiḍ hold to it, though they all be killed (see the reading of L. Br., Text 63, note 1). But they
³⁵ believe in it only as long as the "Speaking" (Imam)² does not come forth. When he does come forth, then the drawing of swords becomes obligatory. If not, then it is not (obligatory) . .

¹ Koran 3, 100. 106. 110; 7, 156, etc.

² Comp. the Bâtiniyya, p. 112 n. 3.

Certain sections of the Sunnites, all the Mu'tazilites, all the [62] Khawârij and Zeidiyya (comp. Text p. 75⁹) are of the opinion that with reference to the command to do right and the prohibition to do wrong, the drawing of swords is obligatory, since the repulsion of wrong is impossible without it." See following 5 note.

63, l. 1 and note 1. The Khashabiyya are connected with [63] the Keisâniyya (*ib.* note 1) and originated simultaneously with them in the uprising of al-Mukhtâr. IKot. 300 thus explains the name: "the Khashabiyya of the Rawâfid: Ibrâhîm b. al-Ashtar 10 encountered 'Obeidallah b. Ziyâd. The majority of Ibrâhîm's followers were carrying with them wooden arms (al-khashab). They were, in consequence, called the Khashabiyya."¹ Masudi V, 226 (anno 67) relates that al-Mukhtâr "began to go forth every day to fight Muṣ'ab and those that followed him of the people 15 of Kufa. Al-Mukhtâr (on the other hand) had with him many people of the Shi'a. They were called the Khashabiyya (belonging) to the Keisâniyya." Comp. also the notice *Agh.* VI, 139 (=Tab. II, 1798⁴): "Othman al-Khashabî belonged to the Khashabiyya who were with al-Mukhtâr." When Muhallab, 20 who fought against al-Mukhtâr, was besieging the city of Nisibis which was defended by the Khashabiyya, he thus addressed himself to the inhabitants: "O ye people! Let not these men frighten you. They are only slaves and have in their hands (nothing but) sticks." (*Agh.* V, 155; comp. Tab. II, 684¹⁶)² 25 These sticks were designated by a Persian word *کافرکوبات* as "the heretic knockers," a name which is characteristic of the

¹ *Ikd* 269: "To the Râfiḍa (also belonged) the Ḥuseiniyya. They consisted of the adherents of Ibrâhîm al-Ashtar. They used to march through the lanes of Kufa at night-time and shout: "Revenge for al-Ḥusein!" Hence they were called the Ḥuseiniyya." Instead of *الحسينية* is most probably to be read *الخشبية* (see later). It seems, however, that this reading is not a scribal error but due to the author (or his source) who, neglecting the important detail that they were carrying wooden arms (khashab), brought the name into connection with the war-cry of the party ("Revenge for al-Ḥusein!").

² Comp. Abu'l-Maali 157 *ووقت صرحات الطبري* *الحشبية اصحاب صرحات الطبري* *خروج سلاح ايشان از چوب بود* *صرحات* *طبري* elsewhere.

[63] part played by the Persian element in al-Mukhtâr's rebellion. Thus Tab. II, 694¹⁶ (anno 66) relates that the Khashabiyya who arrived in Mekka to liberate Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya (comp. 693¹) entered the Holy Mosque, carrying with them the
 5 "heretic knockers" and shouting: "On to the revenge for al-Husein!"¹ The Kâfir-kûbât occur also later in the rebellion of Abû Muslim (see the quotation in de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geogr. Arabic.* IV, 278) and as late as anno 257 (IATH. VII, 99⁵).²

10 The name Khashabiyya, it seems, never came into general use. It is often written حشبية and, in consequence of the war ery of this party (revenge for *al-Husein!*), also حسينية; see the variants in Tab., van Vloten, *Worgers*, and *Ikd* (Comm. 93, n. 1).

15 Originally the name was probably meant to convey a social contrast. It indicated the Mawâli as "men of the sticks," that is, as poor devils who could not afford to equip themselves with proper arms (Wellhausen, *Opp.* 80). But it seems that this social aspect of the name was early forgotten and the name
 20 assumed a religious coloring. It is frequently used to designate the Keisâniyya. Thus *Agh.* XI, 47: "It was Khindif al-Asadî (cf. Comm. 42⁵, where "Khandak" is incorrect) who converted Kuthayyir to the Khashabiyya doctrine (مذهب
 25 الخشبية)." Kuthayyir was a typical representative of the Keisâniyya.

This peculiar idea which makes the use of arms dependent on the arrival of the Mahdi stands in a remarkable contrast to the Messianic conception of the Prophets (Is. 2, 4; Micah 4, 3). Perhaps it reflects the Messianic belief of post-biblical Judaism
 30 (adopted also by orthodox Islam), according to which the arrival

¹ The same IATH. IV, 207, where the variant معهم الكافركوبات is to be preferred. IATH. denies that the poor equipment gave rise to the name. He gives a different interpretation to the incident. "They were called Khashabiyya, because on entering Mekka they carried sticks, being reluctant to display swords in the Holy District." Tab., however, (II, 695³) reports that they threatened Ibn az-Zubeir with their *swords*.

² De Goeje in the glossary to *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ibidem, maintains that the word is an anachronism at so early a period as al-Mukhtâr. But the general rôle of the Persian element in that movement and the passage in Tab. confirm the genuineness of the name.

of the Messiah will be connected with a series of bloody wars. [63] At any rate, among the parallels between the Jews and the Rawâfid put into the mouth of ash-Sha'bî (*Ikdl* 269, Comm. p. 19¹⁸) appears also the following comparison: "The Jews say, there shall be no fighting for the sake of God until the Messiah, the Expected One, goes forth and a herald from heaven proclaims (his arrival). The Râfida say, there is no fighting for the sake of Allah until the Mahdi goes forth and a rope' descends from heaven."

In view of the religious character assigned to the use of wooden weapons, we may, with all due reserve, call attention to the utterance of Ibn Sabâ recorded by Jâhiz (Comm. 43¹⁶) that Ali "would not die till he would drive you *with his stick*," the more so, as, quite independently of Jâhiz, *Zeid*. (Comm. 42²⁴) reports the same form of the Shiitic belief "that Ali is alive and has not died, but will drive the Arabs and Persians *with his stick*." ¹⁵ Perhaps it is not accidental that Kuthayyir, who was a Khashabî (see before) and had just returned from a visit to the neighborhood of ar-Radwa, which in the belief of the Keisâniyya was the hiding place of Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya, "appeared before us *leaning on a stick*" (*Agh*. VIII, 33).² 20

— L. 2. On Hishâm and his book see Text 74²² and Comm. 65 ff.

— L. 6. Extremely remarkable is the statement that these adepts of Terror did not even spare one another. But the reason given for it and the solemn assurance of Hishâm's trustworthiness leave no doubt as to the meaning of the passage. 25

— L. 8. It is, of course, the fifth of the spoil originally to be delivered to the Prophet, Koran VIII, 42. The Karmatian leader Abû Tâhir and his successors still were in the habit of delivering this tax to 'Ubeidallah, whom they considered their Imam, de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 82. 30

64, l. 4. Most sources quoted p. 89¹⁴ f. state that Abû Man- [64] şûr laid claim to the Imamate only when Muhammed b. Ali (al-Bâkir) had died (in 117).

— L. 6. On Bazîğ see Shahr. 137; Iji 346; Makr. 352¹⁰. ³⁵ His name appears among those of other sectarians Kashi 196,

¹ وينزل سبب "Rope" gives no sense. Perhaps سبب has here the meaning recorded Dozy s.v.: "Introducteur," the person who introduces one to the Caliph: The herald announcing the arrival of the Mahdi?

² See on this passage p. 25 n. 2.

[64] 197. 196: (sic) *ان بنائًا والسرى وبزيعة*. 197: *Ja'far as-*

المغيرة بن سعيد وبزيعة (sic) *والسرى واما الخطاب* *المغيرة بن سعيد وبزيعة* (sic) *والمعمر* (sic) *وابو* (sic) *بشار الاشعري وحمزة اليزيدي وصايد النهدي*. On some of these heretics see Comm. p. 90¹⁰ and Index.

⁵ When Ja'far was told that Bazig had been killed, he exclaimed: "Praise be unto Allah! There is surely nothing better for these Muğiriyya (read *المغيرة* instead of *المغيرة*) than to be killed, for they will never repent." (Kashi 197.)

On the variants of the name see Text here note 8 and 34 n. 7.

¹⁰ Ed. I, 112 ult. reads *يزيع*. Shahr. ascribes to him the interesting view that a man who has attained to perfection cannot be said to have died.¹ Probably in connection with this belief he claimed that the best among his adherents had been raised to the dignity of angels, Iji. His profession is mentioned only here and Ed. I, 112 ult. The weaver's trade was considered highly degrading, see Ferazdak ed. Boucher 211¹⁰ f.; Wellhausen, *Opp.* 62 n. 3. The same view is held by the Rabbis. Tosefta 'Eduyoth I, 2 it is designated as the lowest trade in the world.

²⁰ — Note 10. See p. 55¹⁶.

— L. 9. Mu'amar appears again Text 69¹⁴. For this reason the reading of L. Br. (note 11) seems preferable. On Sari al-Aksam (with broken front teeth) I have found nothing except the bare mention of his name Kashi 196, 197 (see this page ²⁵ l. 1 f.). In his stead the other sources enumerate as one of the sects of the Khattâbiyya *مفضل الصيرفي*, Shahr. 137 and others.

— L. 10. 'Omeir at-Tabbân is no doubt identical with *عمير* *بيان الجلي* Bagd. 98^a; Isfr. 58^a; Makr. 352¹²; Shahr. 137; ³⁰ Iji 346 (the latter *بنان* instead of *بيان*, comp. p. 88⁵). Most probably *بيان بنان* (or *بنان بنان*) is only another reading for *التبآن* which is confirmed by the alchemistic utterance l. 12–13,

¹ Comp. Text 69¹¹, Comm. 72³¹, 113³⁰.

not recorded elsewhere. Note the expression “*this straw*.” [64] That he was an ‘Ijlite is significant in view of p. 79³⁴ ff.—According to Makr., the ‘Omeiriyya erected a special tent in Kufa for the worship of Ja‘far aṣ-Ṣādiq, see later p. 107.

65, l. 1. This contradicts Shahr.’s and Makr.’s statement ⁵ that he was killed by Yazîd b. ‘Omar b. Hubeira (Makr. يزيد [65] (بن عمير), the governor of ‘Irâk under al-Manṣûr.

— L. 3. The same number is recorded in the other sources. There is, however, a difference as regards the sects which constitute this number. I. H. apparently counts as follows: 10 1) Muġîra, 2) Abû Manṣûr, 3) Bazîġ, 4) Mu‘ammar or, perhaps more correctly, Sarî (p. 96²³), 5) ‘Omeir. The other writers, including Bagd. and Isfr., count the Muġîriyya and Manṣûriyya apart and enumerate as the five sects of the Khaṭṭâbiyya: 1) the Khaṭṭâbiyya proper, then the followers of 2) Bazîġ, 15 3) Mu‘ammar, 4) Mufaḍḍal (p. 96²⁶) and 5) ‘Omeir.

— Note 2. The notice, preserved only in L. Br., refers to the event related Tab. III, 2217¹³ ff. (anno 289). The Karmatian missionary Zikrweih b. Mihrweih endeavors to win over the Kelbites. He sends to them his son Yahya. But no one 20 joined him “except the clan known as the Banû ‘l-‘Uleiṣ’ b. Daḡdam² b. ‘Adî b. Janâb³ and their clients. They swore allegiance towards the end of 289 . . . to Zikrweih’s son whose name was Yahya and whose Kunya Abû ‘l-Kâsim.” Comp. de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 48; Istakhrî 23²=IHaukal 29¹⁹; de Sacy 25 cccii; *Fîhr.* 187 n. 10.—Yahya pretended to be a certain well-known Alide. But it is not settled which Alide he tried to impersonate.—Tuġj (l. 5 of note 2) was the governor of Damascus. I connect this sentence with the notice Tab. III, 2219¹¹: “The cause of his (Yahya’s) death, according to some reports, 30 was that one of the Berbers struck him with a short spear⁴ and a torch bearer⁵ followed him who threw fire at him and burned

¹ I Ath. VII, 353 reads قليص; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 506, Kaliss.

² See the variants Tab. ib.

³ I Ath. خباب, comp. the reading of L.—Janâb, Wüstenfeld, Tabellen 2²⁶.—On ‘Adî b. Janâb see Wüstenfeld, *Register* p. 266, *Lubb al-Lubâb* s.v. العَدَوِي.

⁴ See Glossary to Tab. s.v. مِرْزاق.

⁵ See *ib.* s.v. نَفَاط.

[65] him." The construction **مِنْ طُعْجٍ** is rather hard, for it is scarcely probable that it stands here, as it often does in later Arabic, as the exponent of the passive and signifies (burned) *by* Tuğj. Read **مَعَ** (in his encounter) *with* Tuğj?

5 — Note 2, l. 10. On the Zenj see Tab. III, 1742 ff. (anno 255); Kremer, *Ideen* 195 f., 386. A graphic account of this movement is given by Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 146 ff. Opinions differ as to the person of the Alide he pretended to represent, comp. Masudi VIII, 31; Tab. 1742¹¹,
10 1743, 1746¹². IKhald. I, 361 summarily states that he traced back his origin to 'Īsa b. Zeid, the son of Zeid b. 'Alī, the founder of the Zeidiyya.

— L. 4. The reading of Ed. Y. (note 3) is correct (Goldziher). 'Ihen "those" would not refer to the Khaṭṭābiyya
15 mentioned immediately before, as they are not connected with the Abbassides, but in general to those "who admit prophecy after the Prophet," p. 56¹.

— L. 6. The reading of L. Br. (note 4) stands quite isolated. The correct pronunciation is Khidāsh; see *Tāj al-'Arūs* sub hac
20 voce: **وَخِدَاش كِكْتَابِ اسْمِ رَجُلٍ وَهُوَ مِنْ قَوْلِهِمْ خَادَشْتُ الرَّجُلَ**

اِذَا خَدَشْتَ وَجْهَهُ وَخَدَشَ هُوَ وَجْهَكَ. Comp. van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, p. 49: "Khidache (de la racine Khadacha 'déchirer avec les ongles,' puisqu'il déchira la religion)." Kremer, *Ideen* p. 11, who quotes I. H., writes incorrectly "Chaddāsch."
25 'Ammār was executed in a most barbarous manner by Asad b. 'Abdallah in the year 118, Tab. II, 1588¹. This 'Ammar is not, at least is not meant to be, identical with 'Ammār al-'Ibādī who was also a missionary of the Abbassides and was similarly killed by Asad in 108, Tab. II, 1492.¹

30 — L. 12. On 'Abdallah b. Sabā see p. 18 f.

— L. 13 ff. The incident is reported in all sources, see the quotations later. Kashi offers several details which are not recorded elsewhere. They numbered ten persons and were

¹ The latter passage strangely contradicts Tab.'s account, p. 1488 (anno 107), according to which 'Ammār alone saved himself, while the others perished.

standing at the gate. When they had been let in to Ali, they [65] said to him: "We maintain that thou art our Lord and that thou art he who created us and who gives us sustenance" (Kashi 48, parallel p. 198). According to another version (p. 72), they were seventy gypsies (الرَّطَّ). The tendency of all these stories is plain: 5 they are intended as a protest against the later "Exaggerators" by showing that Ali himself rejected them. It can be easily understood why the orthodox Shiites who were often made responsible for the extravagance of the Ġulât were so very anxious to circulate these stories condemning the Ġulât. 10

66, l. 1 f. "Thou art Allah"; also Makr. 352^o; Iji 343 with- [66] out the preliminary "Thou art He" (l. 1); Kashi 70 أنت هو, 72 أنت أنت هو; Shahr. 132 more pointedly أنت أنت "Thou art Thou," which reminds one somewhat of the Hindoo "Tat twam asi."

15

— L. 5. The same Isfr. 54^a: **الآن علمنا على الحقيقة أنه إله** لأن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لا يعذب بالنار إلا رب النار.

— L. 7. The verse is also quoted Kashi 48 and with variants 49.—Bagd. 94^a (similarly Isfr. 55^b) quotes another *locus probans* and gives a somewhat different version of this auto-20

da-fé: عبد الله بن سبا الذي غلا في علي رضي الله عنه وزعم أنه كان نبياً ثم غلا فيه حتى زعم أنه إله ودعا إلى ذلك قوماً من غواة الكوفة ورفع خبرهم إلى علي رضي الله عنه فأمر بإحراق قوم منهم في حفرتين حتى قال بعض الشعراء في ذلك 25

لترم بي الحوادث حيث شاءت * إذا لم ترم بي في الحفرتين

According to Kashi 72, Ali killed the seventy gypsies (see before) in a most ingenious manner by throwing them into a number of pits which were connected through holes. Then the pits were closed and smoke was let in through one of them, so 30 that they were all choked.

— L. 10. Kānbar is designated as a servant (خادم) of Ali, *Tahdib* 514; Tab. I, 3257 (غلام). He acts as such Kashi 48,

[66] 198. *Tāj al-‘Arūs* sub voce قنبر, and Suyutī, *Tarīkh* 159, call him a *maula* of Ali. He was wounded in the attack on Othman, *Tab.*, *ib.*; Suyutī, *ib.*

—L. 11. All the authorities quoted throughout this treatise and a great many other writers equally attest that Ali burned some of those who held “exaggerated” notions about him. Most of them connect these “exaggerators” with Abdallah b. Sabā.¹ In spite of this consensus of opinion, the historical character of this narrative is more than doubtful. The historians proper (*Tabari*, *Masudi*, *IAth.* and the minor ones) are silent on this point. The fact of an auto-da-fé at so early a period is in itself extremely unlikely. The tendency of the story is unmistakable (see p. 99^o), and the way it is connected with Ibn Sabā is satisfactorily explained when we remember the peculiar rôle assigned to this man and his sect by the Muhammedan theologians. Being a Jew, Ibn Sabā was made the scapegoat for all the subsequent heresies in Islam. The name Sabā’iyya became synonymous with radical heresy and was applied to heretics who lived long after ‘Abdallah b. Sabā.² Shahr.’s account on Ibn Sabā is almost entirely a projection of later doctrines on the founder of Shiism. It is therefore natural that he should figure in an execution of heretics by Ali.

I regard this story as an anticipation of the frequent executions of Shiitic sectarians by Khâlid al-Ḳasrî and his successor Yûsuf b. ‘Omar. *IKd* 267 characteristically, though unconsciously, states this relation: “al-Muġîra b. Sa’d (*read* Sa’id, see p. 79²⁴) was one of the Sabā’iyya whom Ali burned at the stake.” Muġîra, however, was burned by Khâlid as late as 119. Similarly *IKot.* 300, who mentions Muġîra immediately after ‘Abdallah b. Sabā and designates him as a Sabā’î.

A striking parallel to our incident and perhaps its prototype is *Tab.*’s account (III, 418) on the Râwandîyya who worshipped the Caliph al-Manṣûr. “They came forward shouting to Abû

¹ See, e. g., *IKot.* 300; *IKd* 267. According to Kashi 70, Ali burned ‘Abdallah himself. This, however, is contradicted by all other sources as well as by the facts, see p. 43.

² Thus al-Kelbî (died 146) is designated as an adherent (صاحب) of Ibn Sabā, *IKhall.* No. 645, p. 26. See *Comm.* 25¹¹. The same is the case with Muġîra (d. 119), see this page l. 30. Cf. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 12 n. 1.

Ja'far (al-Manṣūr): 'Thou art Thou!' (The narrator) says: [66] he (al-Manṣūr) himself came out against them and fought them. While they were fighting, they came forward crying: 'Thou art Thou!'" The origin of the Rāwandīyya which points to Khorasān (see p. 123^b)¹ and the time to which the incident is assigned strongly support the historicity of Tab.'s account. 5

— L. 15 f. The temptation of Jesus consisted in the "ḡuluww" of the Apostles, i. e., in their belief in his divinity (comp. p. 16³¹). The Prophet himself is reported to have compared Ali with Jesus who fell a victim to the love of the 10 Christians and the hatred of the Jews (ZDMG. 38, 391). "As for the Rāfida, they strongly exaggerate concerning Ali; some of them follow the doctrines of the Christians concerning Christ. They are the Sabā'iyya, the followers of 'Abdallāh b. Sabā, Allah's curse on them." (*Ikā* 267).² More thoughtfully 15 is this relation between the Ultra-Shiitic and the Christian doctrines stated by IKhald. I, 358: "The Ḡulāt have transgressed the limits of reason and religion by assuming the divinity of these Imams. As for Ali, he (read **فَاتَّه**) is (considered by them) a human being which has assumed the attributes of the Deity and (they believe) that God has embodied himself in his human (corporeal) essence. This is the doctrine of Incarnation which corresponds to the teachings of the Christians concerning Jesus."

— L. 17. The sect named in the following is considered an 25 outgrowth of the Sabā'iyya because it shares with the latter the deification of Ali. The Sabā'iyya is the Alidic sect *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Cf. Text 45¹ f., 65¹¹ f.

— L. 18. Apart from **عليانية**, the readings **عليانية** and **عليانية** are frequently found, see Text n. 7, Masudi III, 265 and 30 the references to be quoted presently. The founder of this sect is called Makr. 353²⁶ **عليان بن ذراع السدوسي وقيل الأسدي**. Shahr. 134, however, (sic) **العلبا بن ذراع الدوسي**

¹ See Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 377. The general Afshīn (under Mu'taṣim) did not interfere with the inhabitants of the province Osrushna who styled him "Khodā" (God), Dozy, *Isl.* p. 231.

² As-Sayyid composed a poem in which he protests against calling Ali a "son of God," ib.

- [66] وقال قوم هو الأسدى¹. The 'Ulyâniyya are designated as *Dam-miyya* ("the Blamers," Shahr., Makr.) because they blamed Muhammed for having usurped the dignity to which Ali was entitled. The 'Ulyâniyya, in particular, preferred Ali to⁵ Muhammed, claiming that Muhammed was Ali's apostle. See also Bagd. 98^b.

— L. 19. This *Ishâk* is most probably identical with اسق

بن مكيد النخعي, who frequently figures in *Agh.* as a narrator of biographical stories from the life of as-Sayyid al-¹⁰ *Ĥimyarî*,² e. g., VII, 2 penult., 9^a, 11^a, etc.³—Shahr. 133 f., Iji 21 and 348 he appears, independently of the 'Ulyâniyya, as the representative of a special sect which is called after him the *Ishâkiyya* and is closely related to the *Nuṣeiriyya* (p. 127¹⁹). De Sacy II, 593 quotes besides a sect called *Ĥamrawiyya*, which¹⁵ he rightly connects with this *Ishâk* whose by-name was al-*Almar*. On his book and the following passage in general see later.⁴

- [67] 67, l. 1 ff. The *Muhammadiyya*⁵ who believe in the divinity of Muhammed are the counterpart of the 'Ulyâniyya who believe²⁰ in the divinity of Ali. The literary champions of the *Muhammadiyya* are al-Bhnikî and al-Fayyâd, while *Ishâk* b. Muhammed represents the other party. Shahr. and Makr. speak of the two sects but allusively. Thus Shahr., in speaking of the *Ilbâ'iyya* (= 'Ulyâniyya, see p. 101²⁰), makes the following²⁵ remark: "Among them are such who believe in the divinity of both (Ali as well as Muhammed), but they give the preference

¹ Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 50, 120.

² Like all *Râwis*, his name is missing in the index of *Agh.*

³ Kashi 167¹⁵ quotes him as authority for an account on a discussion between the Barmekide Vizier Yaḥya b. Khâlîd and Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam.

⁴ As he appears in connection with the Keisanite as-Sayyid, we may identify him with *Ishâk* b. 'Omar who is mentioned *Abu 'l-Maali* 158 as the founder of the *Ishâkiyya*, one of the four Keisanite sects.—There is no evidence, however, for his identity with a certain *Ishâk* who acts in Transoxania as an agitator for Abû Muslim, *Fihrr.* 344³⁰, as is confidently assumed p. 180 ib.

⁵ Not to be confounded with the *Muhammadiyya*, as those who believe in the Imamate of Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, Text 43¹ and 60¹⁰, are designated by Bagd. 17^b, 97^a and Isfr. 12^a.

to Ali in matters divine. They are called the 'Ainiyya. [67] There are among them such who believe in the divinity of both but give the preference to Muhammed as regards divinity. They are called the Mimiyya." 'Ain and Mîm are apparently the initials for Ali and Muhammed respectively. The name 5 Muhammadiyya I find only here and Masudi V, 475, VII, 118 (referring to his Sirr al-Ḥayât), III, 265. The latter passage has an immediate bearing on our subject and is possibly the source of I. H.'s account. I reproduce the passage in translation: Certain heretics quote a poem by al-'Abbâs in confirma- 10 tion of their *juluww*. "This is mentioned by a number of their writers and their cleverest critics, out of the sects of the Muhammadiyya, the 'Ilbâniyya (see p. 101^{3a}) and others. One of them, Ishâk b. Muhammed an-Nakha'i, known as al-Aḥmar, (did it) in his book entitled 'aṣ-Ṣirât.' It is also mentioned 15 by al-Fayyâd b. Ali b. Muhammed b. al-Fayyâd (see Text, p. 67, note 2) in his book known as 'al-Kustâs,' in his refutation of the book 'aṣ-Ṣirât.' It is further mentioned by the (man) known under the name of an-Nahkîni (? see Text, p. 66, note 9) in his refutation of the book entitled 'aṣ-Sirât.' 20 These (two men) belong to the Muhammadiyya. They refuted this book (of Ishâk) which was (written) according to the doctrine of the 'Ilbâniyya."

— L. 6. The name of the Kâtib is Ali b. Muhammed b. al-Fayyâd (note 2). I have found no reference to him elsewhere, 25 except the superscription to al-Buḥturî's poem (see later).— Ishâk b. Kandâj died 279. ['Abdallah *Text* 67^e is oversight.]

— L. 9. Al-Walid b. 'Obeid at-Ta'î al-Buḥturî lived 205–284, Brockelmann I, 80. The verse quoted by I. H. is found in al-Buḥturî's *Divân*, ed. Constantinople (1300^h), vol. II, p. 86. 30

The Kaṣida is headed **وقال يمدح علي بن محمد بن الفيّاض** (another poem, I, 23 is headed **وقال يمدح بن الفيّاض**). The verse is the beginning of a naṣīb.

— L. 11. Gaweir is a drinking place of the Kelb between 'Irâk and Syria, Yakut III, 827. Bekrî, *Geographical Diction-* 35 *ary*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1876/7, p. 703, pronounces the name **الغوير**.

[67] — L. 16. Abū'l-Husein al-Kāsim b. 'Abdallah (or 'Ubeidallah) died during the reign of Muktafi in 291, only over thirty years old. He is described as being very bloodthirsty, IKhall. No. 474.—The fact recorded by I. H.—al-Fayyād's execution⁵ at the hands of al-Kāsim—is not found in any other source at my disposal.

[68] 68, l. 1 f. "Adam" here apparently stands for the "original

man," the *إِنْسَان قَدِيم* of the Manichæans, the *אָדָם קַדְמֹן* of the Cabbala, see Louis Ginzberg in *Jew. Encycl.*, vol. I, s.v.

¹⁰ Adam Kādmōn. Shahr. 114 ascribes to Bayān (p. 88¹⁰) the belief that Adam possessed a "Divine particle" which made him worthy of the worship of the angels. A similar conception—the "Divine Element" inherent in Adam as the immediate creation of God, passing through the pious descendants of¹⁵ Adam to Jacob and through him to the Jewish nation—is the basis of Jehuda Halevi's (twelfth century) philosophical system in his *Kusari* (Book I, § 47, 95).—From Adam to Muhammed there were seven prophets (comp. p. 127¹⁵). This number of prophets occurs very frequently in connection with Shiitic sects,²⁰ see p. 89 f.; p. 79⁶ (the Karmatians); p. 127 (the Nuṣeiriyya); Blochet 56 (the Ismā'īliyya). The origin of this conception goes back to the Pseudo-Clementines, see p. 85²⁶ ff.

— L. 5. It is possible that here, too, the number seven is intended. Ja'far is the seventh prophet beginning with²⁵ Muhammed.—Zeid. fol. 104^a designates as *Rawāfiḍ* pure and simple those who pass the Imāmate down to Ja'far: *وَصِئَف*

آخِرُ قَادُوا الوَصِيَّةَ إِلَى جَعْفَرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّ الوَصِيَّةَ انْتَهَتْ إِلَيْهِ وَهُمْ الرَوَافِضُ. Ja'far as-Ṣādiq occupies a central position among the Shi'a. He is called *جَعْفَرِ بَزْرُكٍ* "the Great Ja'far"

³⁰ by the Persian theologians (Blochet 53, note 1) and his name permanently figures in Shiitic literature as authority for everything that bears on religious doctrine. He was also highly esteemed by the Sunna. Typical of this unique position of

Ja'far is the anecdote told by Isfr. fol. 16^a: *حَكَى أَتَهُم (يَعْنِي*

*الرَوَافِضُ) لَمَّا رَأَوْا الْمَاحِظَ يَتَوَسَّعُ فِي التَّصَانِيفِ وَيَصْنَفُ لِكُلِّ*³⁵

[68] فَرِيقٌ¹ قَالَتْ الرِّوَاغُضُ صَنَّفَ لَنَا كِتَابًا فَقَالَ لَهُمْ لَسْتُ أَرَى لَكُمْ شُبُهَةً حَتَّى ارْتَبَهَا وَاتَصَرَّفَ فِيهَا فَقَالُوا لَهُ إِذَا دَلَّنَا عَلَى شَيْءٍ نَتَمَسَّكَ بِهِ فَقَالَ لَا أَرَى لَكُمْ وَجْهًا إِلَّا أَتَّكُم إِذَا أَرَدْتُمْ أَنْ تَقُولُوا (sic) شَيْئًا تَزْعُمُونَهُ² تَقُولُونَ (sic) أَنَّهُ قَوْلُ جَعْفَرِ الصَّادِقِ لَا⁵ أَعْرِفُ لَكُمْ شَيْئًا تَسْنُدُونَ (تَتَنَدُونَ Ms.) إِلَيْهِ غَيْرَ هَذَا الْكَلَامِ فَتَمَسَّكُوا بِجَهْلِهِمْ وَغَبَاوَتِهِمْ بِهَذِهِ السَّوْءَةِ الَّتِي دَلَّاهُمْ عَلَيْهَا فَكَلَّمَا أَرَادُوا أَنْ يَخْتَلِقُوا بِدُعَاءٍ وَيَخْتَرِصُوا كَذِبَةً نَسَبُوهَا إِلَى ذَلِكَ السَّيِّدِ الصَّادِقِ.

The purpose of this Sunnitie invention is plain. It is meant to ridicule the constant references of the Shiites to the authority¹⁰ of Ja'far (see the passages in the Index to this treatise s.v. Ja'far). But it also shows the great esteem in which Ja'far was held even by the orthodox.

The knowledge of mystic lore with which the Shiites credit all their Imams is attributed in even a higher degree to Ja'far.¹⁵ Zeid. 101^b defines this belief in the omniscience of the Imams

وَكُلٌّ مَنْ قَالَ بِجَعْفَرٍ مِنْ الرِّوَاغُضُ يَزْعُمُ أَنَّ الْإِمَامَ يُخْلَقُ عَالِمًا وَطَبْعُهُ الْعِلْمُ وَالْعِلْمُ مَطْبُوعٌ فِيهِ وَيَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّ الْإِمَامَ يَعْلَمُ الْغَيْبَ وَيَعْلَمُ مَا فِي خُومِ الْأَرْضِينَ السَّابِعَةِ السُّفْلَى وَمَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ السَّابِعَةِ الْعُلْيَا وَمَا فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ وَاللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارِ عِنْدَهُ تَجَرَّى وَاحِدًا (وَاحِدٌ read).

It is interesting to note that the more moderate among the Shiites oppose this extravagant belief in Ja'far's omniscience and they quote Ja'far himself as indignantly protesting against it. When Ja'far was told that people believed that he knew 25

¹ See page 56²³ f.

² زَعَمٌ with the by-meaning of "telling a lie," see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 51.

[68] “hidden things” (الغيب), he passionately exclaimed: “Praise unto Allah! Put thy hand on my head! By Allah, there is not a single hair on my body which does not stand on edge!” (Kashi 196).

⁵ An outgrowth of this conception is the peculiar belief in the existence of a mystic book called “Jafr” containing a record of all past and future events “from Creation to Resurrection”,¹ the authorship of which was assigned to Ja‘far. This mysterious volume with the mysterious name² plays an important part in the development of the Shi‘a. See on this book, de Goeje, *Carmathes* 115 f., van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, 54 f., IKhald. II, 184 f. Bagd’s remarks on the subject (fol. 99^a) are worthy of reproduction:

وَمِنْ أَعْجَبِ الْأَشْيَاءِ أَنَّ الْخَطَّابِيَّةَ³ زَعَمَتْ أَنَّ جَعْفَرًا

الصادق قد أَوْدَعَهُمْ جِلْدًا فِيهِ عِلْمٌ كُلُّ مَا يَحْتَاجُونَ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ

عِلْمِ الْغَيْبِ⁴ وَسَمَّوْا ذَلِكَ الْجِلْدَ جَفْرًا وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّهُ لَا يَقْرَأُ (يقْرَأُ (Ms.)

مَا فِيهِ إِلَّا مَنْ كَانَ مِنْهُمْ وَقَدْ ذَكَرَ ذَلِكَ هَارُونَ بْنُ سَعْدٍ الْعِجْلِيُّ

فِي شِعْرِهِ وَقَالَ⁵

أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّ الرَّافِضِينَ تَفَرَّقَتْ * فَكُلُّهُمْ مِنْ جَعْفَرٍ قَالَ مُنْكَرًا . .

وَمِنْ عَجَبٍ لَمْ أَقْضِهِ جِلْدُ جَعْفَرٍ * بَرِئْتُ إِلَى الرَّحْمَنِ مِنْ تَجَعْفَرًا

¹ Comp. Blochet, p. 13. There was a white and a red “Jafr,” ib.

² IKhald. II, 184 maintains that “Jafr” signifies dialectically “small” and that the book was so called because it was written on the hide of a small (young) ox. According to *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, the word signifies sheep in the first few months of life. Neither explanation is in any way satisfactory. The real meaning of the word was evidently early forgotten. Van Vloten, *Chiitisme*, p. 56, note 6 is inclined to regard it as a foreign word and to connect it with Greek γράφη. I am rather inclined to think that Jafr is merely a variation of Ja‘far to whom it is assigned. [I have since noticed that Goldziher, *Shi‘a*, p. 456 n. 5, incidentally gives the same explanation.]

³ See Text, p. 68, l. 6.

⁴ Comp. Makr. 352¹⁶.

⁵ The verses are quoted anonymously IKhald. No. 419. The authorship of Hârûn b. Sa‘id (Kashi 151, Sa‘id) is rather precarious, for it is he who is mentioned IKhald. II, 184 as the Râwi of this book. (He is designated in the same passage as the head of the Zeidiyya.)

— L. 8 ff. The episode presupposes the allegorical method [68] of Koran interpretation current in Shiitic circles which explains the religious prohibitions as the names of persons and brings all religious commands in relation to the Imam, see Text, p. 35, and Comm. p. 14¹⁰ ff. It is obvious that the Hajj precept, if for 5 no other than political reasons, had to succumb to the same allegorical transformation¹ and to become a mere “going to the Imam” (Text, p. 35¹¹). Accordingly, the Ġulât of Kufa arrange a regular hajj to Ja‘far with all due requisites, including attire and religious exclamations (Labbaika Ja‘far, l. 10).—An inter- 10 esting parallel to this story is the incident related Agh. XV, 121. The Ja‘fariyya (as is evident from XIX, 58, identical with the Muġiriyya, the adherents of Muġîra b. Sa‘îd, Comm. p. 80) rebelled against Khâlîd b. ‘Abdallah al-Ķaṣrî, the wâlî of Kufa (Comm. 79³⁸), “and they came out in short trousers,² shouting: 15 ‘with thee (“labbaika”) o Ja‘far! with thee, o Ja‘far!’” At first sight one might feel inclined to identify the two stories. But chronological considerations stand in the way of this identification. For the rebellion of Muġîra took place in 119 (Tab. II,

¹ How anxious the Shiitic leaders were to abolish the hajj to Mekka, the center of Sunnitic Islam, can be inferred from the pregnant utterance of Abû Ja‘far aṭ-Ṭûsî (the author of *List of Shy‘ah books*, died 459/1060) quoted by Mirza, fol. 65^b: *ومن هَفَوَاتِهِمُ الْكُحْنَةُ أَنْ شَيْخَهُمْ*

ابو (ابا) جعفر الطوسي ذكر في كتاب المطابع وغيرها في ان زيارة الحسين رضي الله عنه تُعَادِلُ ثَوَابَ مِائَةِ أَلْفِ نَبِيٍّ وَأَنْبِيَاءِ أَفْضَلُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ مِائَةِ أَلْفِ حَجٍّ وَمِائَةِ أَلْفِ عُمْرَةٍ وَمِائَةِ أَلْفِ غَزْوَةٍ كَأَنْتَ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

² *تَبَائِيْنُ* pl. of *تَبَانٌ* small breeches “without legs such as to conceal the anterior and posterior pudenda” (Lane), indeed a sort of sans culottes. It was the dress of the Mawâlî, van Vloten, *Chiiisme*, p. 70, note 2.—Prof. Nöldeke is inclined to take it as the plural of *تَبَانٌ* and to translate (في سوق التَّبَائِيْنِ) “on the market of the Strawdealers.”

[68] 1619 f.), while the story related in our text plays in the beginning of the Abbasside period. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 97, note 1 is sceptical with reference to the hajj incident told in Agh. But it is not only supported by I. H.'s account. The general character of the Ultra-Shiitic tenets makes an incident of this sort quite probable.

— L. 11. Abû Bekr Ibn 'Ayâsh died in 193, IATH. VII, 153;

Dahabî, *Huffâz* VI, 20.¹ The words كَاتِي أَنْظِرَ إِلَيْهِمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ

I take (with a great deal of reserve) to indicate that he remembers the incident so vividly, as if it were before his eyes. Ibn 'Ayâsh probably narrated the incident long after it passed. He died 193, while 'Îsa b. Mûsa, who fought against the sectarians, died in 167.

— L. 17. See Comm. 19³². Muhammed b. Ismâ'il is the seventh Imam beginning with Adam, de Goeje, *Carmathes* 168; comp. Comm. p. 104.

— L. 19. Al-Hasan b. Bahrâm was the head of the Karmatians of Bahrein. He was killed by his servant in 301, IKhall. No. 186, p. 122; Tab. III, 2291.—The reading الجبائى (n. 6) is found elsewhere, see de Goeje, *Carmathes* 111, note 3.

The name al-Jannâbî comes from Jannâba, a small place on the coast of the Persian Gulf, opposite the island Khârak, Yakut II, 122. IKhall. ibidem and No. 650, p. 40, maintains that Jannâba is a place near Bahrein. Yakut, however, brands this assumption as a gross error.

— Note 7. The form كَسْر as given in Codd. does not necessarily represent the consonants KSR. The middle letter may stand for a great many combinations of consonants with diacritical points which it is impossible to make out. The man himself is no doubt identical with "the Isbahanian," de Goeje, *Carmathes* 129 ff. He managed to pass as a saint in the eyes of Abû Tâhir, the son of Abû Sa'îd (see preceding note), who believed in him and paid him Divine honors. He carried him about in a tent so as to hide him from the gaze of the multi-

¹ IATH., who gives the exact pronunciation, has no Tashdîd. Yet, عِيَّاش is frequently found, see, e. g., Tab. III, 2508⁷. Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 3, writes "‘Ajâš," the same ZDMG. 50, 492 "‘Ajjâš."

tude (Arib, p. 162). Ultimately, however, he was found out [68] and then killed by Abû Tâhir's sons. IATH. VIII, 263 f. places these events in 326, de Goeje in 319.—The same man is unquestionably identical with "the Iṣbahanian," briefly mentioned by Ibn Adharî, ed. Dozy I, 232: "Abû 'Obeid (read Abû 5 Sa'id) al-Jannâbî . . . advocated publicly adultery, unnatural vice, lying, wine drinking and the omission of prayer. Similarly to it acted the Iṣbahanian (الإصبهاني)." Masudî, *Tanbîh*, ed. de Goeje, 391¹⁶ describes him as "the young man (الغلام) known as az-Zakarî, one of the descendants of the Persian 10 kings of the lands of Iṣbahân." The other sources also give his first name, but in so many forms that it is impossible to make out the correct form; comp. de Goeje, *ibidem*.

— L. 20 and note 8. The man spoken of here is usually designated as Ibn Ḥaushab; comp. IKhald. II, 185.¹ The other 15 names differ widely in the various sources. The nearest to I. II. is Makr.: Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusein) b. Faraj b. Ḥaushab al-Kûfi (de Sacy, cclv note). IATH. VIII, 22, Abulfeda and Bîbars Maṣṣûrî (quoted de Sacy, *ib.*) call him Rustem b. Ḥusein b. Ḥaushab b. Zadân (IATH. دادان) an-Najjâr. 20 Nuweirî again (quoted de Sacy, p. ccccxliv) has Abû 'l-Ḥusein Rustem b. Karhin b. Ḥaushab b. Dâdân an-Najjâr. Dastûr al-Munajjimîn (de Goeje, *Carmathes* 204⁵) gives Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Faraj b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥaushab b. Zâdân.—The reason for this vacillation lies in the fact recorded, though, it seems, no more 25 understood, by I. II. that he "was called al-Manṣûr." Al-Manṣûr was the title of the Karmatian Missionary-in-chief which approached in significance that of the Mahdî.² There was a Manṣûr al-Baḥrein as well as a Manṣûr al-Yemen who is referred to here; see de Goeje *ib.*, p. 170, n. 1, 204⁶.—Ibn 30 Ḥaushab made his public appearance in Yemen in 270, de Goeje *ib.* 204⁶. Abû 'Abdallah ash-Shi'î (p. 75¹⁰) was one of the best officers of Ibn Ḥaushab (Blochet, 70), to whom he had been sent by 'Ubeidallah and Muhammed al-Ḥabîb (IKhald. II, 185, in the name of Ibn ar-Raḳîk, d. 340/952). On the death of 35

¹ Blochet 70 erroneously transcribes Abu'l Kasem ibn Djoushem (sic).

² On Manṣûr as the title of the Mahdî (Messiah) see Goldziher, ZDMG. 56, 411; van Vloten, *Chitisme*, p. 61; de Goeje, *ib.* p. 73.

[68] Halwânî and Abû Sufyân, the Karmatian missionaries in Maghrib, Ibn Haushab dispatched him to that country (Makr. II, 104 ff., Blochet ib.).¹

— Note 8, l. 3–4. ‘Ali b. al-Faḍl (al-Janadî from the province Janad in Yemen, Ed. II, 38²³, see Comm. p. 17²) was the Janâh (a Karmatian technical term designating a sort of aide-de-camp) of Ibn Haushab and accompanied him to Aden La‘a, de Goeje *ib.* 204⁷. The latter gives his name, similarly to I. H., as Ali. Otherwise he is called Muhammed, e. g., Istakhrî 24,² de Sacy cclv. Nuweirî (quoted de Sacy cccclvi) has Abû'l-Kheir Muhammed b. al-Faḍl, comp. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 510, Müller, *Islam* I, 595. The Banû Ziyâd traced back their origin to Ziyâd, who pretended to be a son of Abû Sufyân and was afterwards acknowledged as brother by Mu‘awiya, IKot. 176. They were settled in Zebîd. The Du-Manâkh lived in the neighborhood of Aden, Yakut IV, 472.

— Note 8, l. 5. البوراني is most probably identical with البوراني, mentioned de Sacy ccx. I quote this passage, as it is of great significance in connection with I. H.'s text. “En 20 année 295 un nouvel imposteur, nommé Abou Khatem, établit une secte particulière parmi certain Karmates du Sawad que l'on nommait Bouranijja, du nom de leur Daï Bourani (البوراني). Abou Khatem interdisait à ses disciples l'ail, le poireau et les raves³ . . . Cette espèce de Karmates fut nommée Nakalijja

¹ النجار الكومي Ibn Adhârî I, 292 is probably identical with Ibn Haushab. Read الكوفي.—It is possible that على النجار, who is mentioned Comm. 17⁹ among the Karmatian missionaries immediately before ‘Alî b. al-Faḍl (see next note), is identical with our man.—أبو عبد الله العجاني (ib.) is perhaps identical with Abû ‘Abdallah ash-Shi‘î.

² The variant in note n حين تغلب على القرمطي, instead of عليه, may be due to the difference in name.

³ See above page 76¹⁶. A certain Mu‘tazilite بكسر ذين prohibited garlick and onions, Isfr. 48⁵. On the prohibition of certain vegetables, see Chwolsohn, *Ssabier*, II, 10, 109 ff.

(النقلية).” The name Bûrânî does not occur elsewhere,¹ but [68] Naḳaliyya is found in various forms. Arîb (ed. de Goeje) p. 137 (anno 316) speaks of the Karmatians known (sic) بالنقلية بسواد الفرات. As one of their leaders is mentioned a certain حريث بن مسعود⁵, who is no doubt identical with حريث بن مسعود I Ath. VIII, 136 (also anno 316). Interesting is Mas‘ûdî’s remark (*Tanbîh* 391⁵): he had already mentioned in former works أسوار البقلية (sic, see note *e*) الكوفة وغلَّبَتهم عليها وذلك في سنة ٣١٩ والعلَّة في تسميتهم البقلية¹⁰ وهو اسم دِيَانِي عندهم وكان رؤسائهم مسعود بن حريث^{الح}, comp. de Goeje ib. p. 99. I consider the reading Baḳliyya the only correct one, as it no doubt stands in some relation to the prohibition of certain vegetables (بَقْل) recorded by de Sacy. The connection, assumed in the glossary to Mas‘ûdî’s *Tanbîh* (s. v. بقلية), between this sect and a certain¹⁵ al-Baḳlî (Agh. XI, 75¹³, see Comm. p. 46⁵) is impossible. Both material and chronological discrepancies (anno 129—anno 316) speak against the identification.

69, l. 1. On ‘Ubeidallah and the rise of the Fatimides see [69] the detailed accounts by de Goeje, *Carmathes*, p. 5 ff. (the larger 20 part of the essay bearing on this subject), Blochet, p. 77 ff.

— L. 4. The Khaṭṭâbiyya and the numerous factions belonging to it are frequently mentioned by I. H. (see Index). The name of the founder as given by I. H. is found Fîhr. 186 ult., Shahr. 136, I Ath. VIII, 21. Kashî, who devotes a very long²⁵ article to him (pp. 187–199), calls him Muhammad b. Abî

¹ Perhaps حاتم بن محمد بن حاتم البزاراني from Bârân, one of the towns of Merv (Yakut I, 462), may be the same man.—*Lubb al-Lubâb* explains إلى عمَل البوارى من القَصَب البوراني as referring ونحوه. In the Appendix sub hac voce the editor remarks: “In separato articulo agit Ibn al-Athîr de البوراي, quae est alia tantum eiusdem nominis forma.” I have not been able to locate the passage in I Ath.

[69] Zeinab, but adds that his name was **مقلاص بن ابي الخطاب** **البراد الاجدع الأسدي ويكنى ابا اسماعيل ويكنى ايضا ابا محمد بن ابي** (p. 187). Makr. 352³ gives his name as **ابى** **الطيبان** **ثور**, or **ابى يزيد**; the latter Kunya is declared to be correct by de Sacy ccccxL, note 2. Zeid. fol. 104^a differs from all other authorities in calling him al-Haṭṭāb (with soft ح under the line and without Abû): **وصنف آخر يقال لهم الخطابية**: **زعموا ان الامامة انتقلت من جعفر الى الخطاب والخطاب خليفة جعفر ووصيه وجعفر عائب (غائب⁵) حتى يرجع¹.**

10 The Khaṭṭābiyya occupy a commanding position in heterodox Islam. Makr. 352⁴ estimates their subdivisions at no less than fifty. Abû'l-Khaṭṭāb is designated as the originator of the allegorical method of Koran interpretation, see p. 14. IKot. 300, on the other hand, confesses to know nothing about him, except that he permitted perjury against the opponents of his sect² as well as murder and adultery. The latter is also attributed to him by other writers.

The central point of the Khaṭṭābiyya doctrine is the worship of Ja'far. They claimed to be in possession of his mystic work 20 "Jafr," see p. 106. *Fîhr.* 186 ult. ascribes to him the belief in the divinity of Ali. But this appears to be correct only in so far as he regarded all the Imams as higher Divine beings. According to Shahr. and Isfr. (56^b), he claimed prophecy only when Ja'far had withdrawn from him. Zeid. (ib.) however 25 maintains that he asserted his claims only after Ja'far's death, pretending to have been designated by him as his successor.³

¹ On Raj'a see p. 23 ff.

² See Makr. 352⁷.—Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 60. 222.

³ Isfr. 56^b and Makr. 352⁵ assign to the Khaṭṭābiyya the belief in a "speaking" and "silent" Imam (Naṭīḳ and Ṣāmīṭ), a conception which is of such incisive importance in the propaganda of the Bāṭīniyya. One might feel reluctant to admit the existence of this belief at so early a period. But *Fîhr.*, too, assumes a connection between the Khaṭṭābiyya and the Meimûniyya, the party of Meimûn al-Kaddāh, the originator of the Bāṭīniyya movement. Comp. de Sacy, ccccxL.

The orthodox Imamites are anxious to get rid of this unpleasant partnership. Hence the numerous utterances put into the mouth of Ja'far which curse Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb (Kashi repeatedly, see esp. p. 195) and declare those who follow him to be worse than "Jews, Christians, Magians and heathens" (p. 192, 194; 5 in the year 138, p. 191 below). They maintain that Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb told lies about Ja'far (ib. 195, 146) and that his adherents "to this very day smuggle these traditions into the books of the adherents of Abû 'Abdallah (i. e., Ja'far)" (ib. 146).—

Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb was crucified in Kufa by 'Îsa b Mûsa (d. 167), Shahr. ib., Isfr. 56^b.

— L. 7. Comp. Iji 346 (read ابا لكنّ ابو) وجعفر الصادق إلاّ لكنّ ابو (أبا) وجعفر الصادق إلاّ لكنّ ابو, similarly Bagd. 99^b, Isfr. 56^b.

— L. 9 f. ^أأبناء الله وأحبّاءه is quoted Koran 5, 21 as the 15 pretension of the Jews and Christians. According to Shahr., Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb applied this expression to the ancestors of Ja'far, i. e., to the Huseinids only. Makr. (352⁵) states that he believed that "the Imams were like Ali and that his (i. e., Ali's) children were all prophets." More distinctly Iji ib.: ⁵الائمة آلهة 20

دعواها 99^b Bagd. 99^b, and quite unequivocally Bagd. 99^b ^أأبناء الله ^أأبناء الله ^أأبناء الله. Our text accordingly cannot be correct. On the basis of the above statements I have inserted the name of al-Husein. I read either ^أأبناء الله ^أأبناء الله ^أأبناء الله or, perhaps more acceptably, ^أأبناء الله ^أأبناء الله. 25

— L. 11. This strange belief was widespread in these circles, see p. 72³⁰. Thus the Mu'ammariyya (p. 114¹¹) believed that "men do not die but their spirits are lifted up into other (men?)" (Makr. 352⁹). This is evidently the belief in Transmigration. Philosophically tinged is the opinion of the Bazî-30 giyya "that the man who has attained to perfection cannot be said to have died" (p. 96¹¹).

[69] — L. 12. Instead of the translation offered in the text, which conveys no proper meaning, I would suggest to punctuate the Arabic phrase Ed. IV, 187¹⁴ in the following manner:

“*وَأَشْبَهُ عَلَى النَّاسِ بِهَذَا الشَّيْخِ الَّذِي تَرَوْنَ* the most uncertain

5 in the opinion of men regarding this (the claim not to die and to be lifted up to heaven) is the Sheikh whom you see (i. e., Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb).” In other words, if anyone, then it is Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb who has no chance to get to heaven. L Br (note 5) read

أَشْتَبَهُ. Perhaps in Ed., too, *أَشْبَهُ* is to be corrected into *أَشْتَبَهُ*.

10 The two readings would then coincide.¹

— L. 14. On the Mu‘ammariyya see Shahr. 137, Makr. 352⁷ (who agrees with him verbatim). This Mu‘ammar is possibly

identical with the Mu‘tazilite *مَعْمَرُ بْنُ عَبَادِ السَّلْمِيِّ* Makr.

347²⁸, Iji 340, who expresses similar opinions, and with Mu‘ammar 15 who advocates the Imamate of ‘Abdallah, the son of Ja‘far aṣ-Ṣâdîk, Makr. 351³⁰. The latter view is assigned by Shahr. 126 to the Aftaḥiyya sect, which derives its name from al-Aftaḥ, the by-name of ‘Abdallah b. Ja‘far. The name of the founder is omitted.

20 — L. 18. Abû Muġîth (Tab. III, 2289, Abû Muhammed) al-Husein b. Mansûr al-Hallâj, whose grandfather is said to have been a Magian (Zoroastrian), came from the town Beidâ in Fâris. He was executed in 309/922 during the reign of al-Mukṭadir and his ashes were strewn in the Tigris. His adher-

25 ents considered this the cause of the rise of the Tigris in that year. Many expected that he would return to life after forty days (comp. p. 23²⁷), asserting that it was not Hallâj who was executed but an enemy of his on whom he had pressed his own features, IKhall. 186, see Comm. 30¹². He exercised a powerful 30 influence not only on his own age but on posterity as well. He had numerous admirers among orthodox Muhammedans (Bagd.

¹ One thinks of Makr.’s words (352¹⁰) in his account on the Bazîġiyya that Ja‘far was a god *وَلَيْسَ هُوَ الَّذِي يَرَاهُ النَّاسُ وَأَدْمًا تَشَبَّهَ عَلَى النَّاسِ*. But I do not know how to bring this meaning into I. H.’s sentence.

101^a)¹ and even among non-Muhammedans.² See on Ḥallāj, [69] *Fihṛ*. 190¹⁴ ff. (with a list of his writings), Arīb (ed. de Goeje) 86 ff., Bagd. 101^a, Isfr. 60^a f. (an extract from the latter, Haarbrücker II, 417), Dozy, *Isl.* 324 f., Kremer, *Ideen* 70 f., 130 note 26.

— L. 19. IKhall. No. 186 similarly has Ḥāmid (not *Ibn* Ḥ., note 9). He died 311.

— L. 22. The by-name of this sectarian is usually given as الشَّلْمَغَانِي, from Shalmaḡān, a town in the neighborhood of Wāsiṭ, IATH. VIII, 216, Yakut III, 314. It is evident that I. Ḥ. took the name Shalmaḡān to be that of a person (see also note 10). Similarly IKhall. No. 186, p. 129 has *Ibn* ash-Shalmaḡānī. Interesting in this connection is Yakut's remark (ib.): "ash-Shalmaḡān is the name of a man; possibly this town derives its name from him. But it is a mistake." He admits, however, that elsewhere this word is found as a personal name, as can be confirmed by a verse of al-Buḥturī. Aside from الشَّلْمَغَانِي, we also find السَّلْمَغَانِي, *Fihṛ*. 176²⁵, note 13 (this coincides with the reading of A, note 10 of our text) and السَّلْمَقَانِي Bagd. 102^a.—I. Ḥ. is the only one who designates him as Kātib. Perhaps this is due to a confusion with the Kātib mentioned soon afterwards (Text, p. 70, note 2, l. 5).

The reading الفَرَاغِد (note 11) is confirmed by the variant فَرَاغِدِينَ, IKhall. No. 186, p. 129. The vast majority of writers,

¹ I. Ḥ. quotes him repeatedly as the type of a miracle worker, e. g.. Ed. I. 109²¹, 110¹¹; he ridicules (V, 117¹³) the "adherents of Incarnation and the extremists among the Rāfiḍa" who believe that people like Ḥallāj, ابْن أَبِي الْعِزِّ (probably abbreviation for ابْن أَبِي الْعِزَّازِ, see Comm. 116 n. 1) and others are Divine beings, while they sit in their company, discharge the lowest human functions and exhibit human desires.

² See a poem of his transcribed in Hebrew characters published by Hirschfeld, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 15 (1903), p. 176, 180 f. I myself found in the Oxford Genizah (Ms. Hebr. d 57) a poem of a similar nature in Hebrew characters with the superscription لِلْحَلَّاجِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. (He plainly says there اللَّهُ أَنَا.)

[69] however, give him the *Kunya* أبو العزاقرة.¹ Bagd. 91^a, 102^a and Isfr. 61^b call his adherents العزاقرة. I Ath. VIII, 216 reads أبو الغرائر. Masudi III, 267 has قراقرة.

The cardinal point of ash-Shalmaḡānī's doctrine is the theory of the "Addād" (Contrasts), the simultaneous revelation of God in a good and evil principle. Thus, e. g., he revealed himself first in Adam and Iblīs, etc.² He called Moses and Muhammed impostors, because they merely were the apostles of Aron and Ali respectively and usurped a dignity to which they were not entitled. I Ath. and Abulfeda II, 382, from whom I have drawn this information, point out the resemblance between this doctrine and that of the Nuṣeiriyya (p. 126 f.), suggesting that they are identical.

On ash-Shalmaḡānī see also *Fīhr.* 176²⁵, 147²², 196¹⁹, de Slane's English translation of IKallikan I, 439, note 18 (a biography extracted from Dahabī's *Ta'rikh al-Islām*), de Sacy ccxlii, Kremer, *Ideen* 75 ff.

Worthy of note is the relation of the official Shi'a to this heretic. Tusy allots him some space in his work (p. 305, No. 20 662), but cautiously adds كان مستقيم الطريق ثم تغير. Mirza fol. 55^b rebukes the Imamites for this ambiguous attitude:

ومن الطرائف أنهم نقلوا في كتب أصحابهم من محمد بن علي الشلمغانى الفضائرى (sic) وأمثاله وأشباهه أحاديث متكثرة وذموها في كتب رجالهم غاية الذم حتى انه قال الحلي³ في

¹ أبو العزاقرة is, of course, a variant of الفراقدة. If Ed. V 117¹⁴ ابن العز stands for ابن أبي العزاقرة, then this would be the original form of the name and the difference between I. H. (note 11) and the other writers could be easily explained. I Ath. VIII, 372 calls him *Ibn Abī'l-Ḳarāḡir*.

² This idea is clearly identical with the Syzygy doctrine taught in the Pseudo-Clementines, *Recognitiones* III, 59, 61; *Homilies*, II, 15; *Recogn.* III, 61 assumes ten such opposite pairs.

³ Died 726^b, Ḥajī Khalfā II. 194.

[69] خلاصة الرجال وابن داود¹ في رجاله ان الصادق قال في شأنه انه كذاب ملعون.

[70] واباح الدواط وزعم²: 102^a: 70, l. 1 f. and note 1. انه إيلاجُ الفاضلِ نورة في المفضول واباح اتباعه له حرّمهم طمعاً

— He believed that the union in spirit is possible only through the union in flesh, de Sacy II, 572.

— Note 2, l. 2-4. Al-Ḥusein b. 'Ubeidallah² was Vizier under al-Mukṭadir. I. H.'s assertion that he was killed conflicts with the statement of all other authorities that he renounced ash-Shalmaḡānī in time and thus saved his life. Bagd. reports that the Shafite and Malekite judges were of different opinion regarding the admissibility of his repentance, the former voting for, the latter against its acceptance.

— Note 2, l. 5. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Muhammed b. Abī 'Ann (so Yakut III, 314; IKhallikan ib. omits Muhammed; 15

Bagd. ib. has إبراهيم بن محمد بن أحمد بن المنجم) was a writer of note, celebrated for the elegance of his style, Yakut, IKhall. Contrary to the vizier al-Ḥusein (see preceding note), he refused to renounce ash-Shalmaḡānī and was crucified and then burned in the year 322.

— L. 5. The same man is mentioned by I. H. as a typical sorcerer *Milal* V, fol. 62^a (Ed. I, 109³⁰ ff. as well as Cod. L leave the name out and differ considerably): ومن هذا النوع كان سحره فرعون وشناس (sic) البصريّ وسائر الكذّابين فقط. See the variants in our text note 3. There is no means to decide which is the correct form.—This person seems to be identical with a man merely designated as البصريّ and dealt with by IAth. VIII, 372 (anno 340). He pretended that Ibn Abī'l Qarāḡir (see p. 116 n. 1) had embodied himself in him and he had then become the legitimate head of the Qarāḡiriyya. The

¹ Comp. Brockelmann I, 406.

² The same form of the name also IKhall. 186, p. 129 (=de Slane's edition 224^b), IAth. VIII, 217, Abulfeda II, 382, Bagd. 102^a, Isfr. 61^b; only Tab. III, 2162ⁱ has Abū'l-Ḥusein.

[70] identification suggests itself the more readily, as in I. II.'s account he also follows immediately after ash-Shalmaġānī.—The clause “in our time” is scarcely correct, as I. H. was born 384^h (died 456). The mistake, however, is excusable when we think
 5 of the distance between Cordova and Baṣra.

— L. 7. Abū Muslim, usually styled Ṣāḥib ad-Daula, was born about 100^h and was assassinated at the command of Manṣūr about 140, IKhall. No. 382; IKot. 191 gives the year 137. The by-name السراج (as-Sirāj “Lamp” or, better, as-Sarrāj
 10 “Saddler”?) I found only in I. H. (Text here, 36¹¹, 45¹³).

Abū Muslim was dealt with *Text* 45¹³. Here I. H. records the additional belief in his divinity. According to Shahr. 114, it was the Rizāmiyya who advocated this belief. The founder of this sect, Rizām b. Ṣābiq,² rose in Khorāsān during the lifetime
 15 of Abū Muslim. He maintained that Ali transferred the Imamate to Muhammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya,³ who passed it over to Abū Hāshim, who, in turn, bequeathed it in writing to the Abbassides. At the same time he believed that Abū Muslim was an associate in the Imamate and an incarnation of the
 20 Divinity. Similarly Iji 347. Bagd. 100^a (and alike Isfr. 59^a) confine these doctrines to a fraction of the Rizāmiyya: ثم زعموا ان الامامة بعد السفاح صار (صارَت) الى ابي مسلم وأقروا مع ذلك بقتل ابي مسلم وموته آلا فرقة منهم يقال لها ابو مسلمية أفرطوا في ادعى مسلم غاية الإفراط وزعموا انه صار إلهًا يحمل روح الإله فيه وزعموا ان ابا مسلم خير من جبريل وميكائيل⁴ وسائر
 25 الملائكة وزعموا ايضا ان ابا مسلم حي لم يموت وهم على

¹ Makr. reads السروح, see Text ib. note 6.

² Instead of سابق Cureton's edition has a blank. It was apparently missing in his Ms. I have supplied the name from Makr. 353^a. Haarbrücker, p. 173, curiously translates: “Die Anhänger von Rizām, dem Sohne eines unbekannten Vaters”!

³ Hence their classification among the Keisāniyya.

⁴ The Bazīgiyya (p. 95³⁴ ff.) believed “that some among them were better than Gabriel, Michael and Muhammed,” Makr. 352¹¹.

[70] انتظاره وهؤلاء بمرز وهرة يُعرفون بالمركوكية فإذا سُئل هؤلاء

عن الذي قتله المنصور قالوا كان شيطاناً تصور للناس في صورة أبي مسلم¹ Masudi VI, 186, on the whole, agrees with this presentation: "When the (news of) the assassination of Abû Muslim reached Khorâsân and the other mountainous regions, 5 the Khurramiyya (comp. the variants) became agitated. They are the party called Muslimiyya, which believed in Abû Muslim and in his Imamate . . . Some among them were of the opinion that he has not died nor would he ever die until he has appeared and filled the earth with justice." *Fihrist*. 344²⁷ ff. similarly 10 describes the Muslimiyya as the sect which believed that Abû Muslim was alive (أنه حي يُرزق), comp. *Comm.* 38¹³). He mentions particularly a certain Ishâk who acted in Transoxania as Abû Muslim's missionary, claiming that the latter was imprisoned in the mountains of ar-Rayy and that he would come forth at a 15 certain time which was known to him only. Makr. 353² is not correct when he describes the Rizâmiyya as the party which passes the Imamate down to as-Saffâh and quite separately enumerates among the Râwandiyya (p. 121 ff.) the بسلمية (see footnote below) which transfers the Imamate from as-Saffâh to 20 Abû Muslim.²

¹ See p. 30¹⁰.

² Makr. 354² أبي سلمة صاحب دولة بني العباس, also l. 3, أبي سلمة is to be read instead of أبي سلمة.—de Sacy LIX connects the بسلمية with Abû Salma, Abû Muslim's general. But then it would be most surprising that Makr. mentions nothing about the worship of Abû Muslim and that the other sources again mention nothing about Abû Salma. Besides, Abû Salma would scarcely be styled "Sâhib ad-Daula." The proposed emendation removes these difficulties. The name of the sect البسلمية is either to be read البسلمية (as Masudi and Fihrist have) or to be explained as a contracted Nisba for أبو مسلمية (as Bagd. gives), e. g., عبقسي from عبد القيس, عيشي from عبد الشمس, comp. Wright, *Grammar of the Arabic Language* (3d ed.) I, § 264 Rem. b. True, this contraction does not exactly correspond with the examples given, I, p. 162 A. But one knows that the abstractions of the Arabic grammarians are of little avail, especially in the case of the Nisba endings.

[70] On Abû Muslim and his connection with Mazdaism, see Blochet 43 ff.

— L. 9. See also Text 36°. The first name of al-Mukanna' is not certain. IKhall. No. 431 gives 'Atâ and Hâkîm respectively. The latter name is recorded Tab. III, 484¹⁶ and IATH. VI, 25. Hâshim (reading of L. Br, note 6) is also found Makr. 354³, while Bagd. 100^a, perhaps correctly, calls him Hâshim b. Hâkîm. He was from Merv (note 7), according to Bagd.

من اهل قَرْيَةٍ يُقال لها كازة كيمن دات. He was a fuller by profession, I. H., Bagd. Abulfeda II, 44, IATH. VI, 25 (read

تَصَارًا instead of تَصِيرًا). He belonged to the Rizâmiyya (Shahr. 115, Bagd.) and believed in the divinity of Abû Muslim, regarding himself as his incarnation (IATH.). He committed suicide while besieged in his stronghold in 163. According to one version, he died through poison, Tab. III, 490¹⁰, IKhall. ib., Abulfeda ib., Dozy, *Isl.* 245 f. According to another (recorded by Bagd. and Isfr.), he threw himself into a burning furnace so that his adherents were unable to find his body and were therefore induced to believe that he had been lifted up to heaven. IATH. VI, 34 f. gives room to both versions. Bagd. 100^b (shorter Isfr. 60^a) adds the following interesting notice about the adherents of Mukanna' at the time of this writer:

وَاتَّبَاعَهُ الْيَوْمَ فِي جِبَالِ إِيلَاقٍ¹ أَكْثَرَهُ أَهْلُهَا وَلَهُمْ فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ مِنْ قُرَاهِمُ مَسْجِدٌ لَا يَصَلُّونَ فِيهِ وَلَكِنْ يَكْتُمُونَ² مُؤَدَّنًا يُوَدَّنَ فِيهِ وَهُمْ يَسْتَكْتُمُونَ الْمَيْتَةَ وَخَنْزِيرٍ وَكُلُّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمْ يَسْتَمْتَعُ بِامْرَأَةٍ غَيْرَةٍ²⁵ وَإِنْ ظَفَرُوا بِمُسْلِمٍ لَمْ يَرَهُ الْمُوَدَّنَ الَّذِي فِي مَسْجِدِهِمْ قَتَلُوهُ وَأَخْفَوْهُ غَيْرَ أَنَّهُمْ مَقْهُورُونَ بِعَامَّةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فِي نَاحِيَتِهِمْ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى ذَلِكَ.

Very important is Bagd's statement (100^a) concerning his doctrine: وَزَعَمَ لِاتَّبَاعِهِ أَنَّهُ هُوَ الْإِلَهِ وَأَنَّهُ قَدْ كَانَ تَصَوَّرَ مَرَّةً فِي

¹ On the border of Fargâna, Yakut I, 421.

² This word gives no sense. Isfr. has instead يَسْتَأْجِرُونَ.

[70] صورة آدم ثم تصور في وقت آخر بصورة نوح وفي وقت آخر
 (then in بصورة ابراهيم ثم تصور في صور الأنبياء الى محمد الح
 ثم انه زعم انه في زمانه) Ali, his sons, finally in Abû Muslim
 الذي كان فيه قد تصور بصورة هاشم بن حكيم وكان اسمه هاشم
 بن حكيم وقال إني انما أنتقل في الصور لأن عبادي لا يطيقون
 رؤيتي في صورتي التي انا عليها ومن رآني احترق بنوري.

See on this doctrine p. 85²¹ ff.

— L. 13. Read Râwandiyya (with long â in the first syllable).

The name Râwandiyya is generally applied to the people who came in 141 or, according to another version, in 136 or 137, to 10
 Hâshimiyya, then the capital of the Caliphate, to pay divine homage to the Caliph al-Manṣûr, Tab. III, 129=IAth. V, 383; Dozy, *Isl.* 242; Kremer, *Ideen* 12; Müller, *Islam* I, 494; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 37 f.; van Vloten, *Chiiisme* 48. This application, however, is correct only in part. Originally, 15
 it seems, the Râwandiyya were but a *political* party which assigned the Imamate to the Abbassides, just as other parties assigned it to the Omeyyads or Alides. Masudi repeatedly describes them as the شيعة ولد العباس who justified the transfer of the Imamate to the Abbassides on the basis of Koran 8, 76 20
 and who hired the corruptible al-Jâhiz (d. 255/869) to write for them to order the book “Kitâb Imâmati waladîl-‘Abbâs.” (Masudi VIII, 56.) The latter fact alone, which brings the Râwandiyya down to the third century H., suffices to show that the Râwandiyya, at least, chronologically, 25
 extend far beyond the ill-fated “ġuluww” attempt in 141. It was only at a later time that the Râwandiyya claimed that the Imamate had been transferred to the Abbassides by a written will of Abû Hâshim, the son of Muhammed b. al-Hanafîyya (Masudi VIII, 58), thus appearing as a branch of the Keisâniyya. 30
 Bagd. apparently holds the same view on this matter when, in formulating the orthodox doctrine of the Imamate, he adds
 وقالوا (يعني اهل السنة والجماعة) بامامة ابي بكر
 الصديق بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم خلاف قول من

[70] (sic) اثبتتها لعلّى وَحْدَهُ من الرافضة وخلاف قول الروندية (sic)

¹ الذين اثبتوا امامة العباس بعده. Comp. also fol. 12^a.

I. H. expresses himself similarly Ed. IV. 90^{1a}: "Another party says: the Caliphate is only permissible in the children of al-
⁵ 'Abbâs b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This is the opinion of the Râwandiyya."²

It was only a small group out of this large party which cherished extravagant ideas and, as the Muhammedan theologians would say, exaggerated concerning the 'Abbassides. This is
¹⁰ still evident from Tab.'s statement III, 418¹⁰, that it was a certain man called Ablak who arranged the attempt at the deification of Manṣûr and "called upon the Râwandiyya to join him," in other words, used an already existing party for his special purposes.³

¹⁵ The name of the sect is written راوندية Tab. ib.,⁴ I. H. and others; روندية Bagd. and Isfr., and ريوندية Suyûṭî, *Ta'rikh*, 263, which the English translator, p. 266 note, unjustifiedly, as will presently be seen, regards as incorrect. For it is the latter variant, reflected as well in the reading of Ed. Y.
²⁰ (our text, note 9) and this page, note 2, which gives us the clue to the origin of the sect. As a matter of fact, the Râwandiyya are unanimously connected by the Arabic authors with the province of Khorâsân, which was, as is well known, the centre of the Abbasside propaganda (Masudi VI, 54, Tab.
²⁵ III, 82, 129^{1b}=IAth. V, 383, comp. Abulfeda II, 13). A locality by the name of Râwand, however, is unknown in that province. A place of that name is mentioned by Yakut II, 741 as being in the vicinity of *Iṣbahân*. Accordingly, Dozy, *Isl.* 242 and Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* II, 38 (the latter quotes

¹ بعده may refer to the Prophet or to Ali. The latter is more probable, for Masudi, too, tells us that they made an exception in the case of Ali.

² Cod. L. الزيدية, see later. Masudi VI, 26 says rather vaguely: "The Râwandiyya (maintain) that the Imamate is permissible in the Kureish only."

³ The view set forth in the text is in the main anticipated by de Sacy LVI f. who similarly takes Mas'ûdî's statement as the point of departure.

⁴ It is to be regretted that the editor omitted the variations of this name, which he declares (III, 82, note b) to be numerous.

also other views, note 1) seek the origin of this sect in that [70] region. But this view contradicts the express statements of the Arabic sources. Considering the variations of the name of this sect, I am inclined to place its origin in رَيَوَنْد, a region near Nisabûr, the capital of Khorâsân, Yakut II, 891, comp. *Lubb* 5 *al-Lubâb* s. v., الريوندى. This conjecture is raised to certainty by the fact that IKhall. calls the very same region راوند (No. 34, in the biography of يحيى الراوندى). In other words, راوند and رَيَوَنْد are two various pronunciations of the same name which in Persian sounded Rêvend.¹ 10

Aside from this geographical explanation of the name, another derivation is found which must be discussed here. Isfr. 10^a, speaking of the succession of the Imamate after Abû Hâshim, remarks as follows: ثم قال قوم رجعت^٢ (يعنى الامامة) بعد ابي 15 هاشم الى محمد (بن على؟ add) بن عبد الله بن عباس بوصية بن (بن strike out) ابي هاشم له بها وهذا قول ابن (بن Ms.) الراوندى وأتباعه. I combine this statement with the notice Makr. 351¹¹ (in his enumeration of the sects of the Rawâfid) وقد اختلف الناس في الامام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه 20 وسلم فذهب الجمهور الى انه ابو بكر . . . وقال العباسية والربوبية اتباع ابي هريرة الربوبى وقيل اتباع ابي العباس الربوبى هو العباس بن عبد المطلب رضى الله عنه لأنه العم والوارث. I do not hesitate to read 25 (الربوبى and الربوبية instead of الريوندى and الريوندى) and, taking into account their identity in doctrine, to regard them as one.

Examining our material as a whole, we are led to believe that there were two sects of this name: the one, properly so called, from Rîwand in Khorâsân, appeared in the time of Abû

¹ De Sacy LVII recognized in part this relation.

[70] Muslim and professed the extravagant doctrines set forth above; the other, called so after their founder or leader ar-Râwandî, was a political party for which al-Jâhîz as late as in the third century composed his treatise in favor of the Abbasside claims⁵ to the Imamate.

Finally, attention may be called to another sect which stands in a peculiar relation to the Râwandîyya. It is a remarkable fact that our sect which, as can be inferred from the above, is by no means insignificant, is mentioned neither by Shahr. nor¹⁰ Iji nor Makr. In its stead we find the Rizâmiyya, credited with exactly the same views, as have been set forth above as those of the Râwandîyya. And what is even more significant, the Baslamiyya (or Muslimiyya, see p. 119 n. 2), which worshipped Abû Muslim as a Divine incarnation and is counted among the¹⁵ Râwandîyya (Makr. 353 ult.,—the only passage in which the name occurs—, Tab. III, 129¹⁸=IAth. V, 383; Bagd. 103^b:

(وكذلك دَعَوَى قوم من الروندية في ابي مسلم, figures in the other sources among the Rizâmiyya (p. 118 f.). It is clear that the two sects are intimately connected with one another. One²⁰ feels naturally inclined to take them for one. The difference in the names and their derivations seem to speak against their identity.

— L. 15. See p. 100³² ff.

[71] 71, l. 1. A great deal of confusion prevails with regard to²⁵ the name of this sectarian. The extant forms may be classified as follows: عبد الله بن عمرو بن الحرث Text 37⁵, Makr. 362¹⁶ (quotation), Shahr. 112, Bagd. 12^a (*promiscue* عَمْرُو and عَمَر), Isfr. 10^a, Kashi 195¹¹; عبد الله بن الحرث Text 71, note 1 (reading of L Br), Kashi 188¹ (parallel to 195¹¹), Makr. quoted³⁰ by van Vloten, *Worgers* p. 61, note 8; عبد الله بن عمرو بن الحرب (or حرب) Bagd. 97^a, Shahr. 112 ult., Text 37⁵ (reading of Y); عبد الله Isfr. 56^b, Abu'l Maali 158; عبد الله بن الحرب Text 71, n. 1 (reading of Ed. Y). The name of the sect is written الحربية Bagd. 97^a, Abu'l-Maali 158, van³⁵ Vloten in his edition of *Mafâtiḥ al-'Ulûm*, Leyden 1895, p. 6; الحربية *ib.* as a variant, Makr. quoted van Vloten, *Worgers*, p.

61, n. 8,¹ Text 71¹⁷ (see note 12). Very interesting in this connection is Makr.'s notice quoted from a manuscript by van

Vloten, *Worgers* ib.: ومنهم الحَرْبِيَّة أَتْبَاعُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحَرْثِ واسم الحَرْثِ سلم بن مسعود بن خالد بن اشرم وهو من بني الطَّمَحِ بْنِ الْحَرْبِ بْنِ مَعْوِيَةَ بْنِ الْحَرْثِ بْنِ مَعْوِيَةَ بْنِ ثَوْرٍ⁵

The notice is not quite clear, but this much can be inferred from it that there is both الحَرْثِ and الْحَرْبِ among 'Abdallah's ancestors who may be responsible for the variations and that the name of the sect does not, at least in this case, necessarily conform with the immediate ancestor of the founder.^{3 10}

Very peculiar is the notice Shahr. 113 that after 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya's death (comp. Text 71¹⁴) his adherents believed that his spirit was transferred to "Ishâk b. Zeid b. al-Hârith al-Anṣarî. *These are the Hârithiyya* who permit forbidden things and live the life of one who has no duties imposed on¹⁵ him" (comp. de Sacy, II, 593). It would thus seem that the Hârithiyya are not identical with the Harbiyya and represent but a later development of the Harbiyya (or Kharbiyya).⁴

¹ Van Vloten is inclined to pronounce the name al-Kharibiyya to suit the metre. This is scarcely permissible considering that the word itself stands in the verse by emendation.

² The genealogical chain Marta'—Thaur—Mu'âwiya—al-Hârith—Mu'âwiya is found Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, 4³¹.

³ Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75 n. 2.

⁴ I have no means to ascertain whether the following passages have any bearing on this sect, although several points seem to suggest it:

Belâdorî, *Futûḥ al-Buldân*, ed. de Goeje, 295 penult.: الحَرْبِيَّةُ نُسِبَتْ إِلَى حَرْبِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْبَلْخِيِّ (see variants): 'Abu'l-Maḥâsin, Leyden 1855, I, 397 (anno 147): كَانَ بِهَا (يَعْنِي بِمَدِينَةِ تَفْلَيْسَ) حَرْبُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الرَّيَوْنَدِيِّ الَّذِي تُنْسَبُ إِلَيْهِ الْحَرْبِيَّةُ بِبَغْدَادَ IKhall.

No. 19, p. 30 (biography of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal): وَدُفِنَ بِمَقْبَرَةِ بَابِ حَرْبٍ وَبَابِ حَرْبٍ مَنْسُوبٌ إِلَى حَرْبِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ أَحَدِ أَصْحَابِ أَبِي جَعْفَرِ الْمَنْصُورِ وَإِلَى حَرْبٍ هَذَا تُنْسَبُ الْحِكْمَةُ الْمَعْرُوفَةُ بِالْحَرْبِيَّةِ.

[71] According to Bagd. 97^a, 'Abdallah adhered to the doctrine of Bayân that God embodies himself in the prophets and the Imams, claiming that the Divine spirit went over from Abû Hâshim to him; comp. Shahr. 112 penult.

5 — L. 4. On the number of prayers see the variants here and Text 37, n. 3. 17 is attested by most manuscripts, Makr. 362¹⁶ (quotation from I. H.), also in the notice quoted by van Vloten, *Worgers* ib. Is 17 (7+10) a holy number? The "Greatest Name" is said to consist of 17 letters, p. 87²⁰.

10 — L. 6. The Şufriyya (or Şifriyya, see Haarbrücker, II, 406) is a very moderate Khârijite sect.

— L. 8. Makr. quoted van Vloten, *Worgers*, ib. expresses himself similarly *ورجع الى قول الصِّفْرِیَّةِ الخوارج فبرئ منه اصحابه*

والرجل ما 113¹ *لما تاب وبقوا على كفرهم*. The words Shahr. 113¹

15 *كان يرجع الى علم وديانة* (Haarbrücker 170 "aber der Mann kehrte nicht zum Wissen und zur Religiosität zurück") are impossible, both as regards contents and grammatical form (subject before verb, *كان يرجع* for a single action). What Shahr. meant to say is most probably, judging by the state-
20 ments of I. H. and Makr., the exact reverse of it: that 'Abdallah did return to (true) knowledge and religion, and was consequently deserted by his followers.

— L. 14. On 'Abdallah b. Mu'âwiya see Text 45¹⁶, Comm. 44¹¹ ff. and Wellhausen, *Opp.* 98 f.

25 — L. 19. The name of this sect alternates between *نصریة* and *نصیریة* (see the readings note 15). The former is also found Abulfeda II, 388 (I Ath. VIII, 220, which is his source, reads *النصيرية*), *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, p. 1385 (quotation from Iji; ed. Sörenson has *النصيرية*). This difference

30 is of importance for the understanding of the origin of the sect, which is controversial; see de Sacy CLXXXIII, II 559 ff., Wolff, *Drusen* 214 ff. Abulfeda derives the name from the citadel Naşariyya and places the origin of the sect in the year 270/891. Nuşairiyya again is interpreted as a term of contempt: "little Christians," ZDMG. III, 308 note. On the other
35 hand, Guayard, "Un grand maître des Assassins," *Journal*

Asiatique 1877, I, p. 349, derives the name from a man called [71] Muhammed b. Nuṣeir, an adherent of al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (died 260), the eleventh Imam of the Imamiyya, Text 58⁷. The Catechism of the Druzes considers the founder of the Nuṣeiriyya a man named Nuṣeirī, Blochet 101. 5

The cardinal point of the Nuṣeiriyya doctrine is the deification of Ali. This accounts for the fact that they are considered by I. H. an outgrowth of the Sabā’iyya.—Ali, they believed, existed before the world was created, Shahr. 144. To the question “who has created us?” the modern Nuṣeiriyya cate-10 chism gives the reply: “Ali”, ZDMG. III, 302. In other words, Ali is the Demiurge, sec p. 91. They believed in the simultaneous incarnation of God in a good and evil being (Shahr. 144, Iji 348), more exactly, in seven such successive incarnations; see the list of the seven incarnations, ZDMG. III, 303; on the 15 number seven see Index s.v. Seven. This theory strikingly resembles ash-Shalmaḡānī’s doctrine of the Addād, p. 116⁹. Muhammed was Ali’s apostle and was sent to bring mankind to his recognition, ZDMG. III, 302.

The Nuṣeiriyya are closely related to the Ishākiyya (p. 102¹³). 20 They are mentioned together, Shahr. 143, Iji 21, 348. Yakut III, 275, appears to identify them. He says briefly of ash-Shorṭa, a district near Wāsit, *اعلها كلها اشحاقية نصيرية*.

72, l. 1. Instead of “army” read “district.” جُنْدٌ, pl. [72] أَجْنَادٌ, originally “army district,” became afterwards a pure 25 geographical designation. The Jordan district with Tiberias as capital corresponds to the Roman province Palestina Secunda (Prof. Nöldeke in a private communication).—I have found no reference to this occupation of Palestine by the Nuṣeiriyya outside of I. H.

—L. 2 ff. Yakut probably refers to the same fact when he 30 says, referring to them (II, 338, sub voce حِمَصُ) أَصْلُهُمُ الْإِمَامِيَّةُ

يَسْتَبُونُ السَّلَفَ.—The reason for their hatred of Fāṭima and her children lies probably in their conception of Ali as Divine being, who, as such, can have neither wife nor children. Abu’l 35 Maali 158 enumerates among the Ġāliya a sect Azdariyya: “They say that he who was the father of Ḥasan and Ḥusein was

[72] not the (real) Ali. He was rather a man called Ali al-Azdari. But the Ali who is an Imam has no children, as he is the Creator." I. H.'s statement contradicts the assertion of Shahr 144^b (comp. Haarbrücker II, 413), Iji 21, 348, see de Sacy II, 5 559, that the Nuṣeiriyya (and Ishâkiyya) worshipped the children of Ali as well. The modern Nuṣeiriyya catechism (ZDMG. III, 305) also recognizes this relationship of Ali in his capacity as man.

— L. 8. This is a reflex of the belief in Docetism, p. 30.

10 — L. 13. In his polemic against the Sabâ'iyya, who believe that a devil was killed in Ali's stead, Isfr. 56^a uses the same argument: ويزعمون ان الذي قتله ابن ملجم كان شيطاناً ومن قتل شيطاناً كان ممدوداً فكيف يلعموه.

[73] 73, note 2. The addition in L. Br is characteristic of I. H.'s 15 Zâhirite standpoint.

— L. 3. See Text p. 34¹¹ and Comm. p. 13¹¹ ff.

— L. 4. The words enclosed in quotation marks make the impression of a citation from some Ṣufi author. Perhaps it would have been more correct to translate بعض as "one": 20 "one of them adds."

— L. 6 f. The name of this Ṣûfi is Abû Sa'id Abû'l-Kheir, as I. H. expressly states, with two *kunyas* joined together; de Sacy, *Journal des Savants* 1821, p. 725 gives the same form of the name. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 25 New York 1906, writes consistently Abû Sa'id *bnu* Abû'l-Kheir (see passages in his index). The same Dozy, *Isl.* 320, Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* I, 186, note 3 (from Ibn Abî Uṣeibi'a, ed. Müller II, 9¹⁷).

Abû Sa'id was born December 7, 967 and died January 12, 30 1049. He was a contemporary of Avicenna (980–1037)—he is said to have been his friend, Goldziher, *ibidem*¹—and consequently of I. H. (Text 73^a). According to Dozy, however, *ib.* (=Kremer, *Ideen*, p. 66), he founded a monastery (Khânkah) in Khorâsân as early as in the year 200/815. But the date is no 35 doubt incorrect.

The Ṣufis regard him as the originator of their doctrine. De Sacy *ib.* thinks that this is unhistorical.

¹ He is buried by his side, in Hamadan. See the picture of their tombs in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present* (New York 1906), p. 167.

Abû Sa'îd was a famous Rubâ'î poet, Browne, *ib.* 261 ff. [73] Even now his Rubâ'îs are believed to have a magic power. They are recited a certain definite number of times as prayers for forgiveness of sins, for rain, etc.¹

On his spiritual conception of the religious obligations comp. 5 Browne, *ib.* p. 268.

— L. 9. On the prohibition of silk see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, sub voce Dress.

— L. 21 ff. The belief in a written will (نَصُّ) of the Prophet bequeathing the Imamate to Ali is the cardinal tenet of the 10 Imamites in contradistinction from the Zeidites; see Introduction p. 22, Shahr. 122 ff., Iji 353, Makr. 351, IKhald. I, 356. On the reflex of this struggle in the Ḥadīth see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 115 ff.

74, l. 4. On the name Rawâfîd see Appendix A. 15

— L. 9. On Zeid see Shahr. 116. He was a pupil of Wâsil [74] b. 'Atâ, the founder of the Mu'tazila.

— L. 13. See p. 22.

— L. 15. Ali's voluntary concession of the Imamate to the three first Caliphs is taught, according to Shahr. 121³, by the 20 Ṣâlihiyya, the adherents of al-Ḥasan b. Ṣâliḥ (p. 130 f.), and the Butriyya, the followers of a certain al-Abtar. Bagd. 10^a applies the name Butriyya to both sects. They accordingly considered Abû Bekr and 'Omar legitimate Imams. Suleimân b. Jarîr (p. 136⁷ ff.) agreed with them on this point, but differed from them 25 regarding 'Othman. Suleimân declared him an infidel, while the others reserved their opinion concerning him (Shahr., Bagd.).—Kashi 152 applies the appellation Butriyya to the adherents of several men who held the same views on the Imamate.

Al-Abtar, however, is not mentioned by him²: ³⁰ *والبترية هم اصحاب*

كثير النوا والحسن بن صالح بن بن يحيى (sic) ³ وسالم

¹ Zhukovski in the *Memoires (Zapiski) of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archeological Society*, XIII (1900), p. 145.

² See following note.

³ Cf. p. 130³⁰.—Makr. 352²³ curiously connects the two men *البترية*

أتباع الحسن بن صالح بن كثير الأبتري.

ابن ابي حفصة والحكم بن عتيبة وسلمة بن كهيل وابو (sic) [74] المقدام ثايت (sic) الحداد وهم الذين دعوا الى ولاية على رضى الله عنه ثم خلطوها بولاية ابي بكر وعمر ويتثبتون لهما امامتهما ويبغضون عثمان وطحمة والزبير وعائشة ويرون الخروج مع بطون ولد على بن ابي طالب.

— Note 6. The word مقالة in the sense required here is not found in the dictionaries. It obviously stands here for “heterodox view or belief, heresy.” The word is frequently found in the kindred literature. Thus I. H. at the very beginning of his *Milal* Ed. I, 1¹⁷ says: The previous writers on the same subject omitted “many of the strongest objections of the adherents of, makâlât, heterodox views.” IV, 188²⁰: ذكر بعض

“It has been mentioned by some (or one) of the compilers of the heterodox views of those who (wrongly) consider themselves Muslims.” Comp. also IV, 189³; III, 23⁴ and often. Shahr. uses the word in the same sense: 1⁵; 60¹ المصنّفون في المقالات the heresiologists, (Hâji Khalfa VI, 117, 118 اصحاب المقالات). Masudi V, 473 similarly refers to the مصنّف في كُتُب المقالات. His well-known,

20 unfortunately lost, work bore the title الكتاب في المقالات في اصول الديانات. It appears from this as well as from Ed. I, 1⁴ and Shahr. 2¹⁸ that مقالات is contrasted with ديانات “the religious (and legitimate) views.”

— L. 19. See Text 30⁵, 75³.—The name of this theologian 25 is subject to a great many variations. It appears most frequently in the form الحسن بن صالح بن حيّ, the latter name also in the form of حنبى, جنى variously pointed as حنبى; see the readings Text 30, note 2; 79 n. 1; I Ath. in the index; Masudi V, 474 and VI, 24 (comp. p. 490; the editors make 30 of it يحيى); Kashi 152⁰ (sic) الحسن بن صالح بن يحيى.—I. H.

¹ Freytag records a slightly similar significance of the word from Golius: “opinio, sententia.”

calls him *promiscue* al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ (b. Hayy), Text 30⁷, 74¹⁰ [74] (note 10), 75 n. 1, and al-Ḥasan b. Hayy, 74^{23,26}, 75², 79¹³. This peculiar circumstance is rendered intelligible by the fact that Hayy or, more exactly, Hayyân is identical with Ṣāliḥ; see Tab. III, 2516¹², 2517³ (and notes), Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* 9²¹. *Führ.* 5 178¹⁰, however, calls his father Ṣāliḥ *bnu* Hayy.

Al-Ḥasan, with the Kunya Abū ‘Abdallāh, was a member of the Thaur Hamdān (Bagd. 10^a, comp. Isfr. 9^a, l. 8).¹ His daughter was married to ‘Īsa, the son of Zeid b. Ali, the founder of the Zeidiyya. Together with his son-in-law, who¹⁰ was pursued by the Caliph Maḥdī, he was compelled to hide in Kufa for seven years. He died in the same city; the year of his death is variously given as 167, 168 and 169; see Wüstenfeld, *Register*, sub voce, Tab. ib., *Führ.* ib., Dahabī, *Huffāz* V, 45. He was famous for his piety, see especially Dahabī.¹⁵ Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* quotes him as Rāwī, while Bukhārī mentions him honorably, Bagd. 10^a (comp. Isfr. 9^a):

وقد اخرج مسلم بن الحجاج حديث الحسن بن صالح بن حي في مسنده الصحيح ولم يخرج محمد بن اسماعيل البخاري حديثه في الصحيح ولكنه قال في كتاب التاريخ الكبير الحسن بن صالح بن حي الكوفي سمع سماك بن حرب ومات سنة سبع وستين ومائة وهو من ثور همدان كنيته ابو عبد الله.

I. H.’s account on al-Ḥasan’s views flagrantly contradicts the statements of the other sources. The latter generally count him among the Zeidiyya, who confine the Imamate to the²⁵ descendants of Ali or, still narrower, to those of Fāṭima (see later p. 132¹⁶ ff.), Shahr. 121, Bagd., Isfr.; IKot. 301 counts him, more vaguely, among the Shi‘a. *Führ.* 178²⁰, who mentions him among the *كبار الشيعة الزيدية*, registers a book of his entitled “A book on the Imamate of the descendants of Ali by Fāṭima.”³⁰

¹ The South-Arabic tribe Hamdān in ‘Irāḳ adhered to the Alides, Kremer, *Culturgeschichte unter den Chalifen*, II, 144.

² The editors (note 16) bring al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ in connection with the Mu‘tazilite sect Ṣālihiyya, Iji 340³, comp. Shahr. 107. This assumption is inadmissible. Our al-Ḥasan is rather connected with the Ṣālihiyya among the Shiites, Shahr. 120 and the Buteiriyya, Iji 353. Comp. Masudi V, 474 and Comm. p. 129²² ff.

[74] In contradiction to all these authors, I. H. insists that al-Ḥasan shared the orthodox view which admits the Imamate "in all the descendants of Fīhr b. Mālik," i. e., the Kureish (comp. Wüstenfeld, Tabellen O¹¹). One might feel inclined to charge⁵ I. H. with the attempt to claim this famous theologian for the Sunna. But it must be remembered that I. H. quotes as his authority an Imamite.—Quite isolated is Masudi's statement (VI, 25) that he went as far as to admit the Imamate even outside the Kureish.

10 — L. 22. On Hishām see p. 65¹¹ ff.

— L. 23. The book is recorded Fīhr. 175, Tusy p. 355, No. 771

[75] 75, l. 4. This is intended to show that al-Ḥasan considered even these men legitimate Imams. Al-Ḥasan was also very¹⁵ mild in his opinion about 'Othmān, see p. 129^{19,27}.

— L. 8. I. H. stands quite alone with this assertion. According to all other authorities, including Masudi V, 474, IKhald. I, 357, comp. Kremer. *Ideen* 375, the Zeidiyya restrict the Imamate to the descendants of Fāṭima. The Keisāniyya²⁰ are thus excluded. See Introduction, p. 23 and Comm. p. 35.

— L. 9. Comp. IKhald. ib. The Zeidiyya recognize the Imamate of every descendant of Fāṭima

وبشرط ان يكون الامام منهم عالماً زاهداً جواداً سجاعاً ويخرج داعياً الى امامته.

— Note 6. Instead of the enigmatic words of Ed. وجب²⁵ I would suggest (although with some hesitation) to read سل السيف معه "وَحُبُّ سَلِّ السَّيْفِ مَعَهُ" "and the love of unsheathing the sword is in him."

— L. 14. According to IKhald. I, 356, the Imamiyya claim a written will of Ali in favor of Fāṭima's sons.

³⁰ — L. 20–21. Similarly Shahr. 124¹⁰: "They (the Imāmiyya) agree as to the transfer of the Imamate down to Ja'far b. Muhammed aṣ-Ṣādik. They disagree as to the person he appointed (Imam) by a written will after him." See Text 76² and Comm. p. 104²⁵ ff.

³⁵ — L. 22. On Hishām b. al-Ḥakam see p. 65¹¹ ff.

— Ibidem. On Hishām b. Sālim al-Juwālīkī see Shahr. 141. See also *Fīhr.* 177²⁴, note 20, Tusy p. 356, No. 772, Kashi 181 ff.—On his anthropomorphistic doctrine comp. p. 66⁸.

— L. 23. On Dâwud al-Ḥawârî see p. 67³² ff. [75]

— Ibidem. On Dâwud b. Kathîr ar-Raḳḳî, from Raḳḳa in Babylonia, see Kashi 256 f. Tusy No. 281, p. 131 designates him as “weak,” because the “Ġulât” quote him as authority for their traditions. Kashi 257 defends him against this charge. 5 He is said to have died about 200^h, Tusy *ib.*, comp. Kashi *ib.*

— Ibidem. ‘Ali b. Manṣûr is enumerated Shahr. 145 among the writers of the Shi‘a. Masudi VI, 369 calls him an Imamite and a follower of Hishâm b. al-Ḥakam. He is mentioned in connection with the latter, Kashi 165 ult. See also below l. 22. 10

— Ibidem. On ‘Ali b. Mîtham see p. 60⁶ ff.

— L. 24. On ash-Shakkâk see p. 66¹⁴ ff.

— L. 25. On Sheitân at-Tâk see p. 59.

— L. 26. Abû Mâlik al-Ḥadramî is mentioned Bagd. 21^b in connection with Ali b. Mîtham, both being styled شیوخ 15 الروافض. *Fihrr.* 177²⁵ counts him among the dogmatists of the

Shi‘a (من متكلمي الشيعة)¹. Contrary to this, and no doubt incorrectly, Masudi VI, 369 designates him as a radical Khârijite.—He took part, together with most of the other men mentioned in our text, in the famous discussion before the Barmekide 20 Vizier Yahya, Masudi *ib.*; comp. on this discussion Kashi 167 ff.—Abû Mâlik is mentioned, together with Ali b. Manṣûr (see above l. 7), Kashi 179 ult. They both belonged to Ja‘far’s circle. They outlived Ja‘far, *ib.*

76, l. 3 and note 1. According to most authorities (quoted 25 Comm. p. 19²⁷ f.), Ismâ‘îl died *before* his father (five years, [76] Blochet 51). The Ismâ‘îliyya remove this difficulty by the assumption that Ja‘far purposely spread the rumor about his death so as to save his life. See the story told Shahr. 146.

— L. 4. These are the Karmatians. See on these Comm. 30 p. 19³² and p. 79⁵.

— L. 7. These are the Ithnâ‘ashariyya, see p. 78²⁵

— L. 10 ff. See on this passage Text p. 48 and Comm. 52 ff.

¹ ابن مملك الاصفهاني which follows immediately is most probably a dittography from the next line. The editors identify this name with Abû Mâlik. The difference in the Kunya (Abû Mâlik and Abû ‘Abdallah) as well as in the Nisba (al-Ḥadramî and al-Iṣfahânî) speak decidedly against this conjecture.

[76] — L. 20. On the contest about the inheritance see the allusive statement Shahr. 129 and a more elaborate account IBab., *Ithbat* 41 penult. It is natural that Ja'far gets the worst of it.

5 77, note 3. I prefer the reading of L. Br غَيْرَ بِهَا "People [77] sneered at her." See on this expression Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 143 ult. and note 7. The nature of the accusation is not quite clear. Did she become the concubine of al-Hasan b. Ja'far?

10 — L. 5. I have not been able to find any reference to this Kâtib.—The details set forth here are not found elsewhere.

—L. 8. In the time of Abu'l Maali (wrote about 485^h) people made pilgrimages to the cellar (sardâb) in which he was said to have disappeared, Blochet 155. Even as late as Ibn 15 Khaldûn a peculiar ceremony connected with this cellar was still in vogue. Comp. the interesting passage, IKhald. I, 359.

— Ibidem (comp. note 7). The same number of years (180) also Ed. IV, 96^s.

— L. 10. On Mukhtâr see p. 79¹⁷.—On Keisan and the 20 Keisâniyya p. 33 ff.

— L. 13. Muḥammed b. Ismâ'il as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarî was born 105/723 and died 173/789, Brockelmann I, 83. To the sources quoted by Brockelmann add the biography in Dahabî's 25 *Ta'rikh al-Islâm* (Ms. of Strassburg University Library, not paginated), which is in part closely related to that given in *Fawât al-Wafâ'yât* I, 24.—On as-Sayyid comp. also the index to this treatise.

— L. 14. Kuthayyir 'Azza, so called because of his love to 'Azza, a girl of the Khuzâ'a tribe, died in 105, the year in 30 which as-Sayyid was born, Brockelmann I, 48.¹

[78] 78, note 2. The drift of this anecdote is probably this, that, as no decent man shared the views of as-Sayyid, he could only point to a cobbler in Ray as his associate in doctrine.

¹ The remark in *Agh. Tables* p. 395^a s.v. السيد الحميري "loué par Kutayyir" is, of course, a misunderstanding. The passage referred to (*Agh.* VIII, 32) merely states that the verses quoted there in the name of Kuthayyir are ascribed by others to as-Sayyid. Comp. *Agh.* VII, 7.

— L. 4. The accusation of forgery, which is certainly more [78] justified than the reciprocal charge of “*tabdīl*” (see p. 61 f.), is often made against the Shiites, see Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 111. IATH. (VIII, 21) puts it forcibly as well as briefly: “When the enemies of Islam gave up the hope to uproot it by force they took to inventing false traditions.”³ The Rawāfiḍ are on this score brought in comparison with the Jews and this comparison is put into the mouth of ash-Sha‘bī (d. 103), *Ikḍ* 269 (in a briefer form, also in the name of ash-Sha‘bī, Isfr. 15^a), see p. 19¹⁶. Ash-Sha‘bī, of course, is not responsible for this 5 invidious comparison. The Sunnites in protesting against the Shiitic forgeries found no better spokesman than ash-Sha‘bī, who was revered by the Sunna and at the same time known as a Shiite. It must be noted, however, that, according to Isfr. 70^b penult., the *tertium comparationis* in the analogy between 15 the Rawāfiḍ and the Jews is not the forgery of traditions but “*tashbīh*,” the anthropomorphistic conception of God. The Shiites incline towards “*tashbīh*” (see, e. g., p. 66⁷) and the latter is regarded as characteristic of Judaism by the Muhammedan theologians. [Cf. Kauffmann, *Attributenlehre* 81.] 20

The Sunnites answer the Shiitic forgeries with forgeries of their own which are directed against their opponents (Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 117 ff. A few instances can be found Isfr. 15^b f. Some of them are rather clumsy. Thus the Prophet is reported to have ordered Ali to kill the Rawāfiḍ. [See p. 143 ult.] 25

— L. 6. In the expositions following in *Ed.*, I. H. endeavors to refute the Shiitic view that the Imamate is admissible only in the descendants of Ali. His expositions, however, are of a theological nature and do not offer any historical material.

The author very cleverly points out that the ḥadīth انت مِنِّي 30

¹ بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي which is a standing argument of the Shiites—it is at the same time binding for the Sunnites as being recorded in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* (Nawawī, *Tahḍīb* 438)—proves nothing in favor of Ali, as Joshua, and not Aron, was the successor of Moses. 35

¹ Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 50, 119. See Comm. p. 48²⁹.

[78] — L. 10. تَمَثِيل here and in the passages quoted Comm. p. 7³⁰ and 9²⁸ obviously means “Synopsis.” This meaning of the word is not recorded in the dictionaries.

— L. 17. Read كُفَّار (misprint).

⁵ [79] 79, l. 3. Read المَسْبَب “who caused” (Nöldeke); correct accordingly Text 80⁵.

— L. 12. This is the opinion of Suleimân b. Jarîr (see l. 21). Comp. Shahr. 119: “The nation committed . . . a sin which does not reach the degree of impiety.” See Iji 353, Makr.

¹⁰ 352³⁰ (سليم instead of سليمان), Masudi V, 474. His party is called Jarîriyya¹; Isfr. 7^a calls it Suleimâniyya.

— L. 13. On al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy see p. 130 f.

— L. 18. This is the view of the Jârûdiyya; see p. 22²⁰ ff.

— L. 20. Comp. a similar utterance Ed. I, 41² (directed ¹⁵ against the Apostles): “It is not permitted to believe an apostate nor to receive (true) religion from an apostate.”

— L. 21. On at-Tammâr see p. 60⁶ f.

[80] 80, l. 2. On Abû Kâmil see p. 76²¹ f.

— L. 7. See Text 56⁵ ff.

¹ Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75 n. 2.

CORRECTIONS.

Introduction, p. 13 l. 3 from below: *Joseph* is oversight for *Samuel*.
Comm. p. 15, n. 3. Al-Warrâḡ is probably identical with Abû ‘Îsa Muḥammed b. Hârûn al-Warrâḡ, of Bagdad, quoted by Mas‘ûdî, *Murûj* VII, 236.

—Page 78 l. 15. Comp. also IKot. p. 106: عَظِيمُ الْبَطْنِ.

APPENDIX A.

*The term "Rawâfiḍ."*¹

THE term *Rawâfiḍ* which figures so conspicuously in the literature bearing on Shiism as well as in the texts of Ibn Ḥazm can lay claim to a long and eventful history. The word has undergone numerous changes and modifications which are sometimes of so fluctuating a nature as to defy all exact definitions. In the following an attempt is made—for it cannot be more than an attempt—to trace the principal stages in this development and to classify the various, sometimes contradictory applications of this word.

Rawâfiḍ, in the collective singular *Rāfiḍa*,² occasionally *Arfāḍ*³ and *Rāfiḍān*,⁴ in the singular *Rāfiḍī*,⁵ originally signifies "an army, or a military force . . . which has deserted its leader" (Lane), in other words "deserters," or "traitors." It is obviously meant as a nickname, more exactly, an abusive nickname, a *nomen odiosum*.⁶ Its application, in consequence,

¹ The abbreviations under which the sources are quoted in this appendix are the same as in the body of the article.

² The form رَفِضَة which may only represent a different spelling of رَافِضَة is quoted by Goldziher, ZDMG, 36, 281, n. 1, and *Shi'a*, p. 511⁶. Another example is recorded by Dozy *sub voce* (from Nuweiri).

³ Comp. *Tâj-al-ʿArûs* (see Lane s.v.), Dozy s.v. and Goldziher, ZDMG, 36, 280, n. 1.

⁴ See p. 140, n. 3, and Comm. p. 106¹⁸, Goldziher, *Shi'a* 460⁶. The first two examples occur in poetry, the third in rhymed prose.

⁵ Whether the variant الرافض (Text 63, n. 2) represents an actual usage or is merely a scribal error is difficult to determine.

⁶ Muḥaddasī (p. 36¹⁶) counts the Rawâfiḍ among the sects which are designated by a nickname: فَأَمَّا الْمَلَقَبَةُ فَالرَّوَافِضُ وَالْمُتَجَبِّرَةُ. The abusive nature of the name is evident from the remark immediately following: وَأَمَّا الْمَمْتَدِحَةُ فَأَهْلُ السُّنَّةِ وَالْجَمَاعَةُ وَأَهْلُ الْعَدْلِ وَالتَّوْحِيدِ الْحَقِّ.

largely depends on the mental attitude of the person using it. Hence its preëminently polemical character.¹

Historically the name is connected with Zeid, the great-grandson of Ali, the originator of the Zeidiyya. Ṭabari² has preserved an elaborate account of the incident to which the word owes its origin.

Zeid b. Ali b. al-Ḥusein b. Ali b. Abi Ṭalib had been encouraged by the people of Kufa to assert his claims to the throne of the Omeyyads. Relying on their promises of assistance, he organizes in the year 122^b an open rebellion which is to take place on a prearranged day in Kufa. The governor Yûsuf b. 'Omar receives timely information and takes energetic measures to nip the rebellion in the bud by getting hold of its organizer. In this moment of danger the leaders of the rebellious Kufiotes, who had always been noted for their fickleness of character, gather around Zeid to cross-examine him as to the legitimacy of the first two Caliphs, Abû Bekr and 'Omar. "Zeid³ said: 'May Allah have mercy on them both and grant them forgiveness! I have never heard anyone of my family repudiating them⁴ or speaking of them otherwise than favor-

¹ The Shiites never designate themselves as Rawâfiḍ. According to Muḥaddasī (p. 142, n. 6), they apply this word to their opponents. As-Sayyid protests against the affront implied in it (p. 140, n. 3). The expression has, it seems, always (see, however, p. 151, n. 5) carried with it a derogatory meaning. The term *Mu'tazila*, "secessionists" or "schismatics", affords, both as regards origin (see Shahr. 33¹¹ and the other sources) and subsequent development, an interesting parallel to Rawâfiḍ. The *Mu'tazila* themselves prefer the designation *Aṣḥâb* (or *ahl*) *al-'adl wa't-tau-hîd* (Shahr. 29 bottom, cf. preceding note, and *Zeid*.

Mu'taz. p. 2). Bagd. 40^a, 137^a uses the word polemically: القدرية; *Mu'taz.* p. 2).

Bagd. 40^a, 137^a uses the word polemically: القدرية; *Mu'taz.* p. 2). *المعتزلة عن الحق*, while *Zeid. Mu'taz.*, who is himself a *Mu'tazilite*, endeavors to find for the name a different and more complimentary derivation.

² II, 1698 ff.

³ Tab. II, 1699. We quote the passage *verbatim*, as it strikingly illustrates the fundamental points of difference between the two most important sections of the Shi'a.

⁴ يتبرأ منهما. The expression التبرئ عن الشيخين (or من) is the technical term in this connection. The opposite attitude is designated as الترضى عن الشيخين. See Goldziher, ZDMG. 36, 280 n. 2, Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33 n. 2, and the references quoted in the course of this appendix.

bly.' They said: 'Why, then, do you seek the blood of this family (the Omeyyads), if they have not (illegally) seized upon your throne and wrenched it from your hands?' He replied to them: 'The most I can admit in the question you are discussing is that we (the family of Ali) were the worthiest among men of the Prophet's throne and that the people appropriated it in preference to us and pushed us away from it. Yet, this, in our opinion, does not constitute apostasy on their part. They' *were* Caliphs, they were just in their dealings with the people and acted in accordance with the Book and Tradition.' They said: 'If those did not wrong you, then these (the Omeyyads) have not wronged you either. Why, then, should you call (us) to fight people who are not doing you any wrong?' He answered: 'These here are not the same as those. These here *do* wrong me and you and themselves. For we only call you to Allah's Book and the Prophet's Tradition (so that) the traditions be revived and the innovations extinguished. If you follow us, you will be blessed. If not,—I am not responsible for you!' Thereupon they withdrew from him, violating their oath of allegiance, and declared: 'the Imam has died!'², henceforward maintaining that Abû Ja'far Muhammed b. Ali, the brother of Zeid b. Ali, was the (legitimate) Imam. The latter, however, had died in the meantime, but his son Ja'far b. Muhammed was alive. So they declared: 'Ja'far is now our Imam after his father. He is the worthiest of the Imamate after his father. We will not follow Zeid b. Ali, for he is no Imam.' *Zeid thereupon called them Râfida.* At present,³ however, they maintain that it was al-Muğira who called them *Râfida* at the time when they had withdrawn from him."

The last sentence is highly significant. The partisans of Zeid apparently repented their faithless action which resulted

¹ Abû Bekr and 'Omar. It is not clear whether 'Othman is included. The attitude of the Zeidiyya toward the latter is vacillating. See Comm. p. 129²⁶.

² سبق الإمام. On this meaning of سبق see Tabarî glossary *sub voce* and compare the next sentence.

³ اليوم. Codex B omits it. The narrator was a contemporary of Zeid. See later p. 141.

in his pitiful death. They felt the scathing shame of having been branded as “deserters” or “traitors” by so distinguished and pious a descendant of Ali. Shrewd as they were, they pretended that this name was hung on them by al-Muġīra b. Sa‘īd¹ under whom they had risen shortly before and from whom they had betimes withdrawn.² To have been thus nicknamed by so rank a heretic constituted, in their opinion, a title of honor.³

Tabarī’s derivation of the word from the unfortunate uprising of Zeid b. Ali in 122 is almost universally confirmed by the Arabic authorities.⁴ So all the national lexicographers (see the quotations in Lane *sub voce*)⁵; Bagd. 10^b f.⁶; Isfr. 9^a; Shahr.

¹ The text merely gives *al-Muġīra*. But if this is to have any meaning, it can only be taken as referring to al-Muġīra b. Sa‘īd, Text 59 f., Comm. 79. This identification is also assumed in the index to Tabarī. Wellhausen, *Opp.* 96 n. 1, substitutes, without justification, the name of al-Muġīra b. *Shu‘ba*. It is difficult to account for his name in this connection.

² Cf. Text 60¹⁴.

³ The derogatory character of the word (comp. p. 137 n. 6) is aptly illustrated by a verse of as-Sayyid, Agh. VII, 17. The latter had been accused by the poet Sawwār, in the presence of the Caliph Manṣūr, of being a fanatical Shiīte. As-Sayyid replies to Sawwār in a scathing poem in which he says:

وَكُنْ عَلَى رَغْمِكَ الرَّافِضُ * نَ لِأَهْلِ الضَّلَالَةِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ

“We, however, are—whether you like it or not—men who ‘desert’ people of error and ungodly works.” This apparently means: You may nickname us “deserters.” But we are such only because we “desert” Abū Bekr and ‘Omar who disregarded the Prophet’s will and usurped the Caliphate rightly belonging to Ali. See later p. 142 f. Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique* 1874, p. 210 misunderstood the verse.

⁴ A few (see later p. 142, n. 6) add another explanation which is no doubt secondary.

⁵ Comp. also Nawawī on Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* I, 51.

⁶ Comp. fol. 11^a: ففارقوه عند ذلك حتى قال لهم رفضتموني ومن يومئذ سُموا رافضة قال عبد القاهر روافض الكوفة موصوفون بالغدر والبخل وقد سار المتك فيهما حتى قيل أجعل من كوفي وأعدر من كوفي.

17, 116; IKhald. I, 357; Makr: 351⁸ (=de Sacy XLVIII, II, 588)¹, and others. Mukaddasî, who records various applications of our term, distinctly states²: "with the Zeidiyya (it signifies) those who denied the Caliphate of Zeid b. Ali, and this is the original meaning."

It is well known that historical incidents quoted by Muhammedan authorities for the purposes of philological interpretation cannot always be relied upon, as they are not infrequently manufactured for the occasion. But no such scepticism is justified in our case. Tabari's report is derived from *Abû Mikhnaf*, who was a contemporary of Zeid, lived in the same city and is the best authority for the early history of Islam, especially in 'Irâk.³ Besides, the incident has every internal evidence in its favor. Zeid b. Ali was the pupil of Wâsil b. 'Atâ, the founder of the Mu'tazila.⁴ Like the latter, he looked at the problem of the Imamate from a rational point of view.⁵ To Zeid and his followers the Zeidiyya the Imamate was essentially a question of personal qualification.⁶ They denied the existence of a written will⁷ and, while maintaining the superiority of Ali, they justly enough admitted that the first two eminently successful Caliphs were legitimate rulers.⁸ To Zeid's opponents the Imamate was exclusively a question of birth. It was hereditary in its very nature and bequeathed to Ali by the Prophet. Accordingly, Abû Bekr and 'Omar were usurpers and, disregarding, as they did, the express will of Allah's Prophet,

¹ Who also quotes the other explanation, p. 142, n. 6.

² See p. 142, n. 6.

³ See on this historian Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Preface.

⁴ See Comm. 11³⁶.

⁵ Comp. Iji 297.

⁶ Comp. Text 75⁹ and Comm.

⁷ Comp. Introd. p. 22 and Text 74⁵.

⁸ Makr. 352²³ sums up Zeid's standpoint in the words **يُفَضِّلُ عَلِيًّا عَلَى أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ مَعَ الْقَوْلِ بِإِمَامَتِهِمَا**. Comp. the quotation in Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33, n. 2 **وَكَانَ زَيْدٌ أَيْضًا مَعَ قَوْلِهِ بِأَفْضَلِيَّةِ عَلِيٍّ عَلَى الصَّحَابَةِ يَرَى أَنَّ بَيْعَةَ الشَّيْخَيْنِ صَحِيحَةٌ**. This view is based on the belief in the legitimacy of **إِمَامَةُ الْمَفْضُولِ** "the Imamate of the Inferior." See on this important point Shahr. 116 and Ibn Hazm, Ed. IV, 163 ff.

they are to be looked upon as apostates.¹ Thus the "repudiation of the two Elders" became the equivalent and complement of the recognition of the claims of the Alids. It was the propelling force of all Shiitic uprisings and it is but natural that the same question formed the point of issue between the legitimists of Kufa and the rationalistic and fair-minded Zeid at the moment when they were both about to take up arms against the ruling dynasty.

Thus we may consider it certain that the word *Rawâfiḍ* originated in Kufa in the year of the Hijra 122,² in connection with the rebellion of Zeid b. Ali.³

The specific characteristic of the *Rawâfiḍ*, of those who deserted Zeid and were termed by him "deserters," was the negative attitude towards Abû Bekr and 'Omar, and, in a lesser degree, of 'Othman and the other Companions,⁴—an attitude which was not a mere theoretic notion but soon grew into violent hatred and vented itself in the action—believed to be meritorious—of سَبِّ الصحابة "the public denunciation of the Companions."⁵ Hence *Rafḍ* or *Taraffud*, i. e. "to act as *Râfiḍa*" became the designation for this hostile attitude toward the "two Elders" and the Companions, *Rawâfiḍ* and its parallel forms the name of those who maintain this attitude.⁶ Thus

¹ See Introd. 22 and Text 79¹⁸.

² Ash-Sha'bi's (died 103) reference to the *Râfiḍa* (Comm. p. 19¹⁶) is no doubt apocryphal. This scathing criticism of the *Râfiḍa* is attributed to him purposely because he was known to be favorably inclined towards Shiism. The sentence quoted ibidem 19²⁰ الروافض يهود

هذه الأمة is attributed Isfr. 15^a to the Prophet himself, whilst according to ash-Sha'bi (see p. 144³), the *Rawâfiḍ* were even worse than the Jews. Again, according to Shahr. 9, the Prophet compared the *Rawâfiḍ* with the *Christians*.

³ Whether Zeid gave his opponents that name or it was given to them by others in connection with that event is quite immaterial to us.

⁴ Cf. p. 139, n. 1.

⁵ On "Sabb" see Goldziher, *Shi'a* 455 ff. and ZDMG. 36, 280. For some very characteristic instances see Comm. 28, n. 1 (quotation from *Mirza*), 42¹ ff., 65¹ ff. and Goldziher, *Shi'a* 456 middle.

⁶ This, in our opinion, accounts for the additional explanation of "Rawâfiḍ" as رَفَضُوا أَبَا بَكْرٍ وَعُمَرَ, as those who deserted Abû Bekr and 'Omar, so *Ikḍ* (cf. p. 148). Makrîzî 351⁸, who defines (ib.) the

Bagd 12^b introduces with the words رَفَضَهُ فِي كَثِيرٍ وقال the following two verses as characteristic of "Rafd":

Rawâfiq as الغلاة في حُبِّ عليّ بن ابي طالب وُبُغْضِ ابي بكر quotes both explanations: 1) those who "deserted the opinion" of Zeid; 2) those who "deserted the opinion" of the Companions in electing Abû Bekr, cf. de Sacy·XLVIII, II, 588.—Very significant—although not unmistakable—is the remark Muḩaddasî's (38^b): والرّافض عند الشيعة مَنْ

أَخَّرَ خلافة عليّ وعند غيرهم من نفا خلافة العُمَريّين, for which Codex C reads more elaborately: والرّافض عند الشيعة تأخير

خلافة عليّ وتقديم غيره عليه وعند الزيدية مَنْ نفا خلافة زيد وهذا هو الأصل وعند غيرهم مَنْ نفا خلافة العُمَريّين وهذا موضوع إلاّ أنّه المعروف. We are thus presented with three

derivations of the name: 1) according to the Shiites, the name applies to those who gave the precedence to someone else over Ali in the Caliphate, i. e. who elected Abû Bekr (and 'Omar) instead of Ali. 2) According to the Zeidiyya, it applies to those who rejected Zeid's Caliphate (in 122), 3) According to the others (i. e. the Sunnites), Rawâfiq are those who rejected the Caliphate of Abû Bekr and 'Omar. Historically, the first and third explanation are identical: they both assign an earlier origin to the name, deriving it from the events following Muhammed's death. They are substantially identical with the second explanation quoted by Maḩrîzî. The second derivation of Muḩaddasî assigns the name to the year 122. This explanation is, according to Muḩaddasî, the original one, while the third, although the ordinary one, is apocryphal. From the expositions in the text it will have become obvious why the latter explanation had become so favorite. From the remark above quoted we also learn the fact—otherwise unknown—that the Shi'a,—in this case the Imâmiyya, see later p. 158,—applied the same nickname to their adversaries. This apparently means that the Rawâfiq, smarting under the offence implied in that term (comp. p. 140), endeavor to explain it differently: i. e. as those who deserted Ali, the opposition to Ali being objectionable even in the eyes of many Sunnites.—Another example of a polemical explanation of Rawâfiq is found in a ḩadîth (apocryphal, of course) quoted Isfr. 15^b penult: (sic) وروى عن بن عباس رضي الله عنه أنّ النبيّ صلى الله عليه قال سيكون في

بَرِئْتُ^١ إِلَى الْإِلَهِ مِنْ أَبْنِ أَرَوَى^٢ * وَمِنْ دِينِ الْخَوَارِجِ أَجْمَعِينَ^٣
وَمِنْ عُمَرِ بَرِئْتُ^٤ وَمِنْ عَتِيقٍ^٥ * غَدَاةَ دُعَى^٦ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ^٦

In a dictum quoted Isfr. 15^a in the name of ash-Sha'bî (d. 103)⁷ the Rawâfîd are characterized thus: الروافض شر من اليهود والنصارى فإنَّ اليهود سئلوا عن أخيار ملَّتْهم فقالوا احباب موسى عليه السلام والنصارى سئلوا عن أخيار ملَّتْهم فقالوا الحواريون [15^b] الذين كانوا مع عيسى عليه السلام وسئلت الرافضة عن شر هذه الأمة فقالوا احباب محمد.

“These here are *Râfida*, those opposite them are Sunnites . . . the Sunnites are pleased with⁸ Abû Bekr and ‘Omar, the

آخر الزمان قوم لهم نبي (??; = Mahdî) يقال لهم الروافض يرفضون الاسلام فأقتلوهم فانهم مشركون. The same ḥadith with a different *isnâd* and a few variations is quoted Goldziher, *Shi‘a* 444.

¹ بَرِئْتُ seems to be more archaic than the ordinarily used form

تَبَرَّأ. Thus, according to al-Aṣma‘î (died 215, quoted *Lisân* sub voce تَبَرَّأ), Zeid was told (روافض) ابرأ من الشيخين. *Kâmûs* (s. v. روافض) says instead تَبَرَّأ من الشيخين.

² Arwa was ‘Othman’s mother.

³ Ms. جميعا; corrected according to Agh. VII, 24 (see n. 6).

⁴ i. e. Abû Bekr.

⁵ sic! — “was proclaimed.”

⁶ Agh. VII, 24¹¹ ascribes these two verses to as-Sayyid, who is said to have uttered them with his last breath. The second verse appears here in a considerably different form:

ومن فعل يريب ومن فعيل * غداة دعا امير المؤمنين.

The elimination of Abû Bekr’s and ‘Omar’s name is certainly not accidental. See on Abû’l-Faraj al-Iṣfahânî’s attitude towards Shiism, and especially towards as-Sayyid, Goldziher, *Shi‘a* 441 f.

⁷ See p. 142, n. 2. Although apocryphal, the utterance illustrates the meaning attached to “Rawâfîd” by those who invented it.

⁸ يترضون عن. Cf. p. 138, n. 4.

Râfiḍa denounce them" (Dozy sub voce رَفِضَة from Nuweirî).

Characteristic is the anecdote Agh. XVIII, 59⁴: the poet Di'bil (died 246^h), who is an enthusiastic Shiite,¹ denounces a descendant of Zubeir, the son of Ṣafiyya bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's aunt. The Kâḍi 'Amr b. Humeid interposes on the plea that this is equal to insulting a close relative of the Prophet. Di'bil retorts: "I have never seen anyone more stupid than thyself, except the one who hath appointed thee . . . Thy mind can conceive that I am a Râfiḍî because of calumniating Ṣafiyya the daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib . . . Is calumniating Ṣafiyya a religious tenet of the Râfiḍa?" Di'bil shrewdly implies that other personalities, far more important than Ṣafiyya, are the target of the Rawâfiḍ's hatred.

Because of this "denunciation of the Companions" the Rawâfiḍ are nicknamed "Sabbâbîn," "denouncers."²

To realize the full significance of this usage, we must bear in mind the fact so lucidly expounded by Goldziher,³ that the Shi'a

¹ Cf. Agh. XVIII, 29.

² روافض سبّابون , وكانوا أرفاضا سبّابين ZDMG. 36, 280, n. 1.—This general aspect of our term is to be thought of, whenever it is found difficult to assign it to any of the more definitely circumscribed categories to be mentioned in the course of this article.—Muḳaddasî affords us two interesting examples derived from his personal experience. While travelling in 'Irâq, where there are "Ġaliya, exaggerating their love for Mu'âwiya" (p. 126, l. 14 and note *m*; cf. Comm. 12⁸), our author hears in the principal mosque of Wâsiṭ a man reciting a *ḥadīth* (forged, of course) in favor of Mu'âwiya. He remonstrates. The man shouts

خُذُوا هَذَا الرَّافِضِيَّ and the mob advances to attack him (p. 126).

Similarly, in Ispahan, which is equally distinguished by its "Ġulnww for Mu'âwiya" (cf. also Goldziher, *Shi'a* 495, n. 3) the author protests against a man who denounces Ali and is angrily pointed at as هَذَا رَجُلٌ

رافِضِيّ (p. 399¹³). This does not necessarily imply that "orthodox fanatici رافِضِيّ vocant quoque orthodoxos moderatos" (Glossary to Muḳaddasî s.v. رَفِض), but simply means that the people seeing that he objects to Mu'âwiya or that he defends Ali, *think* that he is a "repudiator" of the Companions. In point of fact, Muḳaddasî is very favorably inclined toward the Zeidiyya (see p. 158).

³ ZDMG. 36, 280 f., 50, 111 f., *Shi'a* 460 ff., *Muh. St.* II, 110 f. Cf. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33.

but slowly and gradually developed into an independent religious organism and at first represented rather a different current within Islam than a separate sect. Shiism (*Tashayyū*) in itself, i. e. attachment to Ali and the Alidic family, is, from the Sunnitic point of view, by no means objectionable, nay, is even commendable; the word *Shi'a* in itself does not imply any heresy.¹ It does become objectionable when the attachment to Ali is coupled with the denunciation of the Companions, in the first place of Abū Bekr and 'Omar.² Hence, even in later times, *Rawāfiḍ* is frequently used side by side with and at the same time as distinguished from *Shi'a*, the former denoting the radical and improper expression of Alidic sympathy, the latter the moderate and permissible one. Thus Ibn Hajar al-Askelānī

(died 852/1449) characteristically says³: *كان أبوه فاضلاً متشيعاً من غير سب ولا غلو فنشأ ولده غالباً في الرّفص*⁴

This differentiation has even found expression in a ḥadīth, quoted Isfr. 16³: *وروى بن (sic) عمر رضى الله عنه ان رسول الله صلعم قال يا على تكون انت في الجنة وشيعتك يكونون في الجنة وسيكون بعدك قوم يدعون ولايتك يدعون الروافض فانهم ان وجدتهم فاقتلهم فانهم مشركون*⁵ فقال على وما علامتهم يا رسول الله فقال لا يكون لهم جمعة ولا جماعة⁶ يشتمون ابا بكر وعمر. Thus even the partisans (*Shi'a*) of Ali

¹ *Shi'a* 443, n. 3. Cf. Snouck-Hurgronje ib. 32, n. 1.

² Comp. the characteristic utterance Damīrī's (quoted *Shi'a* ib.)

يتشيع تشيعاً حسناً يقول بتفضيل اهل البيت من غير تنقيص لأحد من الصحابة. See other examples quoted *ib.*

³ ZDMG. 36, 280 n. 2.

⁴ Similarly the well-known Shiite Zurāra b. A'yūn is said to have been

أحد الغلاة في الرّفص (Makr. 353¹⁰).

⁵ Ms. ولايمك.

⁶ Comp. the ḥadīth quoted at the end of p. 142, n. 6.

⁷ Comp. the ḥadīth quoted Goldziher, *Shi'a* 447¹⁴: فيخرجون من الجماعات ويتركون الجمعات.

are sent to Paradise, while those partisans who cannot refrain from denouncing Abû Bekr and 'Omar' deserve extermination.² In consequence, *الشيعية والرافضة* for the moderate and radical wing of Alidic sympathizers is an expression often to be met with. Several examples can be gleaned from the abundant polemical material collected by Goldziher in his *Shi'a*: 453 ult., 486 l. 6, 511 l. 6,³ 512 l. 17 and penult. A further instance may be added from IKhald. III, 74. Speaking of the later Sûfis, Ibn

¹ The ḥadīth is shrewdly enough transmitted through the son of 'Omar.

² Goldziher, *Shi'a* 444, quotes a ḥadīth which is obviously identical with ours. But it is undoubtedly expurgated and almost entirely shorn of its pro-Alidic—one might almost say, Zeiditic—tendency. The words

تكون انت في الجنة وشيعتك يكونون في الجنة are left out and the

Prophet's reply is more in keeping with strict orthodoxy: يعظمونك بما ليس فيك ويطعنون على السلف. In the latter form the Prophet also protests against those who, like the Zeidiyya, acknowledge Abû Bekr and 'Omar but reject the other Companions.

³ In this passage the author (a Persian Shiite of the eleventh century of the Hijra) incidentally explains the origin of the word *رافضة* (or, as he spells it, *رفضة*, cf. 137 n. 2) in a manner different from the explana-

tions previously quoted. He says, *Shi'a* 511¹² ff.: ونحن ومن لا يكابر عقله ووجدانه نعلم علماً يقيناً قطعياً بان هؤلاء الجواري والموالي والجهتهدين في مذهب اهل البيت عليهم السلام كانوا اخص بهم واعلم بأصولهم وفروعهم لأن اهل البيت ابصر بما في البيت وانهم سمو بهذا السبب شيعة ورفضة. "He and those who do not defy their reason or senses are truly and positively aware that these maid servants and male servants (of the Alids) and the students of the doctrine of the Prophet's family were nearer to the latter (cf. Goldziher ib. 508, n. 6) and better acquainted with their fundamental and derivative principles. For the Prophet's family is best aware of what is in the Family. It was for this reason that they (apparently referring to the people mentioned at the beginning of the quotation) were called *Shi'a* and *Râfiḍa*." *Shi'a*=partisans of Ali. *Râfiḍa* seems to convey to the author's mind an essentially positive meaning: intense devotion to the Alidic family, while originally this meaning was merely the complement of the negative idea: the repudiation of the Companions.

Khaldûn says: They exalt Ali above all other Companions ذهابًا مع عقائد التشيع "in accordance with the beliefs of Shiism," shortly afterwards remarking: *واذما هو مأخوذ من* "This (the system of the Sûfis) is merely borrowed from the religious philosophy of the *Shi'a* and *Râfida* and their doctrines in their writings."¹ All these examples are of rather late origin.² For an earlier instance see the curious quotation from an ancient poet, Maḡḡarî I, 799: "Thou sayest: 'Shiism consists in the love of the Bald one of Hâshim.'" Be then, I pray, a Râfîdî, if thou wishest it, or become thou a Shiite!"³ As clearly differentiated the two terms appear in the definition *Ikḍ* 267: "They were called Râfida, because they 'deserted' Abû Bekr and 'Omar" (cf. p. 142, n. 6) . . . *والشيعه دونهم وهم الذين يفضلون عليًا على عثمان ويتلون ابا بكر وعمر* "the *Shi'a*, however, are outside of them (the Râfida). They are those who prefer Ali to Othman but follow Abû Bekr and 'Omar.'" Compare also above, Comm., p. 19^{1b}.

In this connection may also be mentioned the title of Jâhîz' treatise (Masudi VI, 57), *كتاب امامة امير المؤمنين معاوية بن ابي سفيان في الانتصار له من علي بن ابي طالب رضة وشيعته الرافضة*.

With the consolidation of the *Shi'a* the "deserters" of Zeid b. Ali in 122^h developed into the *Imâmiyya* sect which out of the belief in the hereditary nature of the Imamate and the repudia-

¹ In this case, however, and possibly in some other cases *Râfida* may be taken in the more limited meaning of *Imâmiyya*, see later in the text, p. 149 f.

² For a few more equally late examples see Ahlwardt's Berlin Catalogue No. 2152.

³ Ali was bald, cf. Text 57⁶.

⁴ *فترفضي إن شئت أو فتشيعي*—The pun contained in these words is as clever as it is frivolous.

⁵ See later p. 158 middle.

tion of the Prophet's Companions evolved an independent system of religious doctrine and practice. Their antipodes within the Shi'a were the *Zeidiyya*, the followers of Zeid b. Ali. Hence *Rawâfiḍ* very aptly became the equivalent for *Imâmiyya*.¹ In this application our term is consistently used by Zeidite and very frequently by Sunnitic writers. Thus a Zeidite writes كتاب.

² الرّد على الرافضة. The early Zeidite al-Kâsim b. Ibrâhîm (died 246^h) applies the word in the same manner, e. g., *Comm.* 104²⁸, similarly *Zeid. Mutaz.*, p. 48. The Zeidite Suleimân b. Jarîr (see *Comm.* p. 72²⁰) طعن في الرافضة "criticized the Râfiḍa," i. e. the Imâmiyya (Shahr. 119). Jâhîz begins his "Epistle on the Doctrines of the Shi'a" (*Majmû'at ar-Rasâil*, Cairo 1324^h, p. 178) with the characteristic words: "Know . . . that the Shi'a of Ali is Zeidite and Râfiḍite (زيدى ورافضى). The rest of them are isolated and not classified. The description of these two (Zeidites and Râfiḍites) makes (the description of) those outside of them unnecessary." Masudi VI, 23 designates as the

sects of Islam الخوارج والمرجئة والرافضة والزيدية والحشوية; the same meaning apparently attaches to the word *ibidem*, V, 442.³

So, also, Tab. III, 1684¹⁵ وزيدية . . . رافضة.

In the same sense our word is constantly applied by Ibn Hazm. He consciously defines it as contradictory to Zeidiyya *Text* 74 ff. and very often applies it in this meaning in his *Milal*.

Thus Ed. IV, 176⁹: الخوارج والزيدية والروافض وجمهور المعتزلة; جميع الرافضة من الشيعة . . . وجميع الزيدية من الشيعة 163¹²; similarly IV, 171^{12, 10}. Famous Imamites are designated as

¹ Comp. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33 ult.: "Ursprünglich bildeten die Zeiditen einen Gegensatz zu den Râfiḍhiten."

² *Fihrist* 193 ult. For another example see Brockelmann I, 186.—"Die imamitische Sekte der Zaiditen," *ibidem*, p. 185, is a contradictio in adiecto.

³ Elsewhere (V, 473) he allusively refers to the origin of the name of the Zeidiyya, for which he claims to have several explanations.

⁴ In this passage I. H. exactly defines the position of the Imâmiyya in the question of the "Imamate of the Inferior" (cf. p. 141, n. 8).

Râfiḍis, e. g., Alī b. Miṭam (*Comm.* 60²⁵),¹ *Text* 51⁴,² Hishām b. ʿal-Ḥakam (*Comm.* 65¹¹), *Text* 63², 74²², Ed. II, 121⁵,³ Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar (Sheitān aṭ-Ṭāk, *Comm.* 59⁹), *Text* 50¹⁵. As synonymous with Imāmiyya the word also appears *Text* 62¹⁶; *Comm.* 14⁴⁰, 15²; Ed. IV, 100 f. and elsewhere.

It is only a slight variation of this usage when I. H. employs Rawāfiḍ as an *apposition* of Imāmiyya. Thus *Text* 44¹⁸ (= Ed.

IV, 179 penult.) وقال بعض الروافض الإمامية وهي الفرقة التي

وقالت القطيعية من 47¹⁹ (= Ed. IV, 181¹) تدعى المبطورة

الامامية الرافضة كلهم وهم جمهور الشيعة⁵ or *Text* 31²⁰ (= Ed. I, 112 ult.), where several Imamites are characterized as كلهم شيعية رافضة, for which Br. and V. (see ib. n. 4) read شيعية رافضة.⁶

On the other hand, the original meaning of Rawāfiḍ as “repudiators,” without the restriction of an organized sect, seems to be unconsciously present in Ibn Ḥazm’s mind when he speaks of الامامية من الرافضة, see this page note 5 and *Text* 42¹⁸ = Ed. IV, 179⁶.

As an equivalent of Imāmiyya our word shares in all the modifications of that term, embracing all those who believe in the hereditary nature of the Imamate and in a written will of the Prophet (comp. *Text* 74). Thus the Zeidite al-Ḳāsim consciously defines Rawāfiḍ as those who carry the Imamate

¹ Bagd., too, counts him among the شيوخ الرافضة (ib.).

² In the Arabic text (Ed. IV, 181 penult.) وكان is to be read instead of وكل.

³ Comp. Masudi VII, 231.

⁴ L. and Br. merely read (ib. note 8) وقالت فرقة من الرافضة.

⁵ L. Br. instead (ib. n. 13) الامامية كلها وهم من الرافضة اليوم, see later.

⁶ Comp. Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Meccah (ed. 1898), I, 206: “The Maghrabis, too, hearing that the Persians were Rafaz (heretics) crowded fiercely round to do a little Jihad, or Fighting for the Faith.” The Persians were no doubt “Twelvers.”

down to Ja'far.¹ In the same sense probably,² IKhald. counts (II. 165, III, 72, 74) the Ismâ'iliyya, who transfer the Imamate from Ja'far to his son Ismâ'il, and for a similar reason the Fatimides (III, 8) among the Rawâfîd.³ Ja'far's son Mûsa is termed "Imâm ar-Râfîda,"⁴ and so is al-Ḥasan al-'Askarî, the Mahdi's father.⁵ With the spread of the Ithnâ'ashariyya, Rawâfîd just as Imâmiyya⁶ became a designation of the "Twelvers." Thus *Mirza* 49^a unmistakably says الاثنى

عشرية التي يعبر عنها بالرافضة والروافض

entitled رسالة النوافض في رد الروافض is directed against the same sect. I. H. applies the word similarly, Ed. I, 139⁷ and *Text* 76⁷, 77¹.

The further development of our term seems to have been influenced by the relation of the Sunnites to the Imâmiyya. However bitterly the former resented the Imâmiyya's attitude towards the Companions, they still regarded them as being within the fold of Islam.⁷ Excluded from the Muhammedan community were only the Ġulât or Ġâliya,⁸ who were considered

¹ See Comm. p. 104²⁵.

² Another explanation is possible, see p. 152, n. 4.

³ One must, however, bear in mind that under the Fatimides the "repudiation" of the first Caliphs became obligatory as a state law, cf. Goldziher, *Shi'a* 456.

⁴ IBab., *Ithbat* 38.

⁵ Ib. 41. It is worthy of notice that al-Ḥasan is so designated by one of his admirers (although not a Shiite). This would indicate that, in Shiitic countries at least, our appellation lost much of its derogatory character.

⁶ Comp. IKhald. I, 362 واما الاثنى عشرية وروبا خصوا باسم الامامية عند المتأخرين منهم.

⁷ See following note.

⁸ Comp. Bagd. 6^b وجميع فرق الغلاة منهم (أي من الشيعة) خارجون عن فرق الاسلام فاما فرق الزيدية والامامية فمعدودون في فرق الأمة, see ib. 99^a and Makr. 345. Comp. also Introduction, p. 21.

an outgrowth of the Imâmiyya,¹ but not identified with them.² The nature of our term as a *nomen odiosum* sufficiently accounts for its occasional application as Ġulât in distinction from the Imâmiyya. Thus IKhald. II, 164, in speaking of the Sufis who believe in the Divine nature of the Imams, observes: فشاركوا فيها الامامية والرافضة لقولهم بالوهمية الأئمة او حلول الإله فيهم "they share this belief with the Imâmiyya and Râfida (i. e. Ġulât³), because they maintain the divinity of the Imam or the incarnation of the Deity in them." *Ibidem* l. 1: "the tenets of the Imâmiyya and Râfida of the Shi'a as to the recognition of Ali's superiority and the belief in his Imamate, owing to a written will of the Prophet, as well as the repudiation of the two Elders."⁴ As Ġulât our word is probably to be explained Masudi VI, 26: وذهب ابو حنيفة واكثر المرجئة واكثر الزيدية من الجارودية وغيرها وسائر فرق الشيعة والرافضة والراوندية ان الامامة لا تجوز الا في قريش فقط "Abû Hanîfa (*Comm.* 8⁵), the majority of the Murji'a, the majority of the Zeidiyya, such as⁶ the Jârûdiyya (*Comm.*

¹ IKhald. I, 359 speaks of غلاة الامامية, see the following note.

² Comp. the sharp distinction drawn by Ibn Ḥazm, *Text* 55²¹ ff. The Imamites themselves energetically deny any connection with the Ġulât, comp. Goldziher, *Shi'a* 466, n. 2 and *Comm.* 91¹³.

³ Comp. IKhald. I, 358: "The Ġulât have transgressed the limits of Reason and Faith by believing in the divinity of these Imams." See Ibn Ḥazm, *Text* 55²⁵.

⁴ Outside the Imâmiyya, it is only the Ġulât who hold these beliefs. The Zeidiyya reject them.—On the other hand, if we take Imamiyya in its restricted sense as Ithnâ'ashariyya (comp. p. 151 n. 6), Râfida here might possibly stand for the Ismâ'iliyya. Again, in the expression الاسماعيلية من الرافضة (p. 151) the latter might designate Ġulât, as the Ismâ'iliyya hold *ġuluww* doctrines. *Ib.* III, 74 IKhald., alongside of the expression just quoted, says الاسماعيلية من الشيعة.

⁵ I take من البيان as من.

22) and other sects¹ and the remaining sects of the Shi'a² and the Râfida³ as well as the Râwendiyya (Comm. p. 121 ff.) hold that the Imamate is permissible only in the Kureish tribe." A clear case of this usage is found I Athir VII, 341 l. 4, where instead of *كان مغالى (read مغاليا) في التشيع* three codices read *يترفض*. A curious as well as instructive example is afforded by the anecdote told *Kâmil*, ed. Wright 547 and *Agh.* III, 24. Wâsil b. 'Atâ, the founder of the Mu'tazila (Comm. p. 11³⁸), was suffering from a linguistic defect and was consequently unable to pronounce the letter *Râ*. He bears a deadly hatred towards the ultra-Shiitic poet Bashshâr b. Burd, who had derogated him in one of his poems. Wâsil bitinglly retorts: he would hire assassins to dispose of him *لولا ان الغيلة* "were not assassination a specific quality of the Gâliya."⁴ Here the narrator remarks: Wâsil said *Gâliya* *ولم يقل المغيرة ولا المنصورية* (*Kâmil*, ib.) "but he did not say al-Mansûriyya nor al-Mugîriyya,"—two ultra-Shiitic sects known for their terroristic practices⁵—because of the *Râ* contained in their names. This remark of the narrator is reproduced *Agh.* with a significant variant: *ولم يقل الرافضة* Wâsil said *Gâliya*, but not *Râfida*. To the narrator in *Agh.* then the two expressions seemed synonymous.⁶

¹ *Seil.* "of the Zeidiyya." The Jârûdiyya appears everywhere as the first sect of the Zeidiyya, cf. Shahr. 118⁴, Iji 352, Makr. 352²⁴, comp.

Text 42¹⁷. Tab. III, 1617 says: *الجارودية والزيدية*, taking the former as an independent sect.

² Probably referring to the various sections of the *Imâmiyya*.

³ It is not clear whether *الرافضة* or *الرافضة* is to be read.

⁴ To whom Bashshâr (*Comm.* 24²) belonged.

⁵ See *Comm.* 92¹² ff.

⁶ It is possible that this meaning of the word is unconsciously present in I. H.'s mind when he declares (*Comm.* 62⁸=Ed. II, 78⁴): "the Rawâfiḍ do not belong to the Muslims." For the Imamites are not excluded by I. H. from the community of Islam (cf. p. 152, n. 2). On the other hand, the belief in "Tabdil" with which the Rawâfiḍ are charged in the above-mentioned passage is characteristic of the *Imamites* (cf. *Text* 51¹³

This application, however, cannot be said to be more than incidental. Often enough it is impossible to distinguish it from the usages enumerated before, the "Exaggerators" being at the same time "Repudiators."¹ Besides, the Ġāliya never became an independent organism as did the Imāmiyya. The constituency of the Ġāliya is as fluctuating as is the name, which only later and even then not uncontestedly became the technical term for Ultra Shiites.² At any rate, the cases in which Rawāfiḍ appears as a synonym of Ġāliya are counterbalanced by the examples in which they are distinctly kept asunder. Thus Jāhiz (van Vloten, Worgers, p. 58 ult.) expressly says *الرافضة ثم الغالية*. I. H. draws a similar line of distinction. Cf. *Text* 42¹⁸ (= Ed. IV, 179ⁿ) *الجارودية من الزيدية ثم الإمامية من* *الرافضة ثم الغالية*. In other passages he uses the expression *الرافضة من الروافض*⁴, applying the word in the general sense of "Repudiators"; *Text* 30¹⁸ (= Ed. I, 112ⁿ), Ed. IV, 206ⁿ, or *غالية الرافضة* Ed. V, 117¹³.

Vastly different from the applications recorded till now is the use of Rawāfiḍ as a synonym of *Shi'a*, embracing *all* Shiitic sects, *the Zeidiyya included*. This generalization is probably

and *Comm.* 61¹⁰).—Strange is the meaning implied in our word in the anecdote *Agh.* XII, 23²⁰: A company of poets is sitting at the wine table. The poet Manṣūr an-Namarī refuses to partake of the forbidden liquor. He is thus accosted by the company: "You only refrain from wine drinking because you are a *Rāfiḍī* . . . not from piety." I have found no reference testifying to a particular scrupulousness of the Shiites as regards wine drinking. On the contrary, certain Shiitic sects and individuals are accused of transgressing this prohibition (cf. *Text* 62¹⁴, *Comm.* 14²⁰, 28²⁰), not to mention the modern Shiites, at least, as far as they are represented by the Persians.

¹ Thus *Comm.* 42²⁴ it is difficult to say whether the Rāfiḍa are designated as such because of the extravagant belief referred to there or because of their exclusive adherence to Ali, which implies the repudiation of the other Companions.

² Muḥaddasī still uses the term in an entirely different sense (cf. p. 145, n. 2.) See also *Comm.* 12⁵ ff.

³ *Comp.* p. 150 n. 5.

⁴ Similarly Shahr. 8¹³ *الغلاة من الروافض*.

the outcome of a more hostile attitude toward the Shiites, particularly towards the Zeidiyya, on the part of the Sunnites, who now indiscriminately brand by this derogatory term all those who swerve from the Sunna.¹ Thus the *Dictionary of Technical*

Terms, ed. Sprenger, bluntly declares: **الروافض من كبر الفرق** الاسلاميّة وتُسمّى بالشيعة أيضًا. Bagd. and Isfr., who elaborately derive the origin of the word from Zeid b. Ali, consistently apply Rawâfid to all the sects of the Shi'a without exception. To quote a few examples out of many: Bagd. 6^b

ثم اختلفت الروافضة اربعة اصناف زيديّة وامامية وكيسانية في بيان مقالات فِرَق الرّفص، قد 9^a (cf. *ibidem* 22^a), والغلاة الزيدية من الروافضة 7^a; ذكرنا من قبل هذا ان الزيدية منهم ومن رآه من 112^b, بدّع الروافضة الزيدية والرافضة الامامية 93^b

الرافضة زيدياً او امامياً مائلاً الى الطعن في اختيار الصحابة. As the Zeidiyya and Imâmiyya, so are the Gulât and their various sections counted among the Rawâfid: fol. 103^a **الرافضة الغالية**, 99^a **السبائية الغلاة من الروافض الغلاة**, 14^a **الرافضة**, 103^b **السبائية الغلاة من الروافض الغلاة**.¹ Isfr.'s use of the word is identical

¹ This again may be explained by the change in the attitude of the Zeidiyya themselves,—for it is only with reference to the Zeidiyya that this usage of our word differs from the one preceding it. Thus Shahrastâni, having narrated the incident with Zeid b. Ali anno 122^b, observes (p. 118³): **ومالت اكثر الزيدية بعد ذلك عن القول بامامة**

المفضول وطعنن في الصحابة طعن الامامية. For a characteristic example of this changed attitude see Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka* I, 33 n. 2.—Miṣbâḥ's remark (quoted by Lane s.v. **روافض**) probably refers to the same fact: "Afterwards (i. e., after Zeid b. Ali) this appellation became applied to all persons . . . speaking against the Companions."

² Cf. preceding note.

³ Cf. *Comm.* 41¹¹.

⁴ Wellhausen's statement (*Opp.* 96, n. 1): "Sabaijja ist ein älterer, Râfiḍa ein späterer Name für dieselbe Sache" is not in accordance with the facts set forth above.

with that of Bagd.: Isfr. 8^b الروافض تجمعهم ثلاثة فرق الزيدية^{8b} والامامية والكيسانية¹ الروافض من جملتهم الزيديون^{7a}. Makrîzî in his account on Muhammedan sects employs the word in the same general sense, including among the Rawâfiḍ the Imâmiyya as well as the Zeidiyya.² This usage is also found much earlier. IKot. 300 presupposes it when he remarks: الزيدية هم منتسبون الى زيد بن علي المقتول وهم اقل الرافضة غلوًا غير أنهم يرون الخروج مع من خرج³. The same meaning is apparently assumed Tab. III, 1465 (anno 247): a man recites before Mutawakkil a poem against the Râfiḍa in which it is argued that a daughter has no hereditary claims, and receives from the overjoyed Caliph 10,000 Dirhems and the governorship of Bahrein and Yamâma. This argument, which is directed against the descendants of Fâtima, affects the Zeidiyya as well as the Imâmiyya.⁴

Ibn Hazm seems to refrain from this unrestricted use of the word. The only exception—and this perhaps a deceptive one—⁵ is found *Text* 40¹¹ (=Ed. IV, 178¹⁶), where, instead of the

¹ The Gulât are excluded from Islam. Bagdâdî, who counts four sections (p. 155¹⁰), is inconsistent, cf. p. 151, n. 8.

² Makrîzî's statement (*Comm.* 12⁴) may apply to the Shi'a in general or to the Imâmiyya of whom he speaks in the quoted passage. On the relation of the Mu'tazila to the Imâmiyya, see also Goldziher, *Shi'a*, p. 484.

³ This is apparently the source for *Ikd* 269: ومن الرافضة الزيدية: وهم اصحاب زيد بن علي المقتول بخراسان وهم اقل الرافضة غلوًا غير أنهم يرون الخروج مع كل من خرج. This usage is somewhat inconsistent with the statement p. 148. Elsewhere (cf. *Comm.* 26²) *Ikd* designates as Rawâfiḍ those who believe in the "return" of Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya, i. e., the Keisâniyya.

⁴ See Introduction, p. 21. Snouck-Hurgronje's observation (*Mekka* I, 34): "im 12. Jahrhundert konnte man die Zeiditen Arabiens als Râfidhiten bezeichnen, weil sie dort und damals den Orthodoxen schroff gegenüberstanden" must needs be amplified: the designation of the Zeidiyya as Rawâfiḍ is older than the 12. century and by no means restricted to Arabia.

⁵ For the author speaks of the "depravities" of these sects, cf. Introduction, p. 22.

superscription of Ed. and Y. *من أقوال أهل البدع المعتزلة*

¹ *بدع الرافضة والخوارج*, L. and Br. read *والمرجئة والشيع*
والمعتزلة والمرجئة.

Those who have perused the material presented in this appendix with some measure of attention will have observed that the word *Shi'a*—not unlike *Rawâfîd*—is not a sharply and definitely circumscribed term but is subject to not inconsiderable modifications. In distinction from *Rawâfîd*, the term *Shi'a* has nothing objectionable or derogatory about it³: the Shiites themselves unhesitatingly assume this appellation.⁴ To the Sunnites as well, owing to the ever increasing prevalence of pro-Alidic sentiments among the masses,⁵ *Shi'a* even in the sense of “Shi‘at ‘Alī” conveys no objectionable meaning,—this, as it were, respectable character of the word being, in our opinion, the main reason for the gradual spread of *Rawâfîd* at its expense. The application of *Shi'a* by the Sunnites, just as that of *Rawâfîd*, is largely conditioned by their attitude towards the Zeidiyya. The disagreement between the Sunna and Zeidiyya is not one of deep-seated antagonism. In point of fact, the whole difference reduces itself to the question as to the candidacy for the Imamate. According to the Zeidiyya, the Imamate is confined to the descendants of Fâtima⁶; the Sunnites extend it to the whole of Kureish. Since, however, the Sunnites for the most part agree with the Zeidiyya as to the excellence of

¹ Cf. also *Comm.* 21^b.

² The former superscription however is the original one, see the reference quoted *Text* 40, n. 3.

³ Cf. p. 146, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. *Shahr.* 143^s (in a quotation from Ibn an-Nu‘mân, *Comm.* 59²), also Goldziher, *Shi'a* 470, n. 2.

⁵ Cf. *ZDMG.* 50, 111.

⁶ i. e., Ḥasanides as well as Huseinides,—provided, of course, their personal fitness (cf. *Text* 75⁷ ff. and *Comm.*).—Wellhausen's assumption (*Opp.* 93): “Sie (die Zeidijja) unterscheiden sich von der Râfida durch ihr Eintreten für das Haus Husains” contradicts one of the fundamental tenets of the Zeidiyya. That Zeid b. Ali was a descendant of Husein was mere chance and wholly indifferent to the Zeidiyya or to Zeid himself. Cf. *Comm.* 22³¹ ff.

Ali and his family, and the Zeidiyya, on the other hand, agree with the Sunnites as to the legitimacy of the two Elders, the gap between them seems practically to close. "The Zeidiyya," says Makr. 354⁷, "are the best among the Shi'a, for they admit the Imamate of Abû Bekr and deny the existence of a written will concerning the Imamate of Ali." This stands to reason why Mukaddasî, e. g., places the Zeidiyya *outside* the Shi'a, applying the latter term to the Imâmiyya and other radical sections of the Shi'a. Thus p. 38 n. *d* (see above p. 142 n. 6): عند الشيعة على الزيدية، or p. 37¹¹: والشيعة على الزيدية، والأفضلون "the Shi'a prevailed upon the Zeidiyya," or p. 128¹ الخلفاء الأربعة وقد علمت ما يقول فيهم الخوارج وجهال الشيعة. The "stupid Shiites" can only refer to the Imâmiyya and other radical sections,¹ as the Zeidiyya, on the whole, refrain from attacking the four Caliphs.²

It is nothing but a different consequence of the same attitude of mind when, on the contrary, we find that the term *Shi'a*, without any objectionable by-meaning,³ is applied to the Zeidiyya, *to the exclusion of the Imâmiyya* who are designated as Rawâfid. This is clearly the case with the utterance of *Ikd*, p. 148⁴ and the *hadith* p. 146 (cf. p. 147 n. 2). It may also be applicable in the phrase الشيعة والرافضة, of which several examples were quoted p. 147 f., notably so in the case of *IKhald*. p. 148.⁵

With the rise within the Zeidiyya of sections which, unfaithful to their founder, did not refrain from the "denunciation of the Companions,"⁶ the attitude of the Sunna became one of hostility and the term *Shi'a*, gradually assuming a distinct

¹ This is clearly shown by the variant (note *a*) ما يقول فيهم

الخوارج والروافض من المثالب وما يقول العقلاء من الحُسن.

² As different from Zeidiyya, *Shi'a* is also applied by Masudi, see p. 152.

³ Cf. p. 146, n. 1.

⁴ This is in contradiction with *Ikd*, p. 156, n. 3. But the latter passage is borrowed from Ibn Koteiba, see *ib.*

⁵ Ibn Khaldûn speaks of their *writings*, which would point to a dogmatically consolidated sect.

⁶ Cf. p. 155, n. 1. The sect mentioned *Comm.* 75 limits the Imamate to the Hasanides, yet indulges in the denunciation of the Companions.

heterodox character, was now applied to all sects of Shiism, from the Zeidiyya to its farthest ramifications, the Ġulât.¹

Lastly, mention must be made of a term used by the Shiites for the same polemical purposes as was *Rawâfiḍ* by the Sunnites. We refer to the expression *Nawâṣib*, which seems to have been patterned after *Rawâfiḍ*.² Ample information about the meaning and history of this designation can be drawn from Goldziher's writings.³ Originally *Nawâṣib* stood for the exact reverse of *Rawâfiḍ*: the "enemies" or "haters" (of Ali),⁴ and was confined to the extreme Khârijites. Gradually its meaning expanded so that it finally embraced all Sunnites, however far they were from hating Ali.

In addition we may remark that the Imâmiyya polemically apply the same term even to the Zeidiyya, with whom the superiority of Ali is a cardinal doctrine. Kashi 149 quotes Ja'far aṣ-Ṣâdiq as saying:⁵ الزيدية هم النصاب. Further utterances of a similar tendency can be found in the same passage.

¹ So nearly all writers.—On the relation of the Ġulât to the Shi'a comp. Introduction, p. 21 and Index s.v. Shi'a.

² Cf. Muḥaddasi 38⁷: واما اربعة لقب بها اهل الحديث فالخشوية والشكك والنواصب والخجيرة فاما الملقبة فالروافض; ibidem 37¹⁶ والشكك والمرجئة والشكك. Thus the Hashwiyya correspond with the Murji'a and the Nawâṣib with the Rawâfiḍ.

³ *Shi'a* 491 ff., ZDMG. 36, 281, *Muh. St.* II, 120.

⁴ *Muḥîṭ al-Muḥîṭ* explains it in this way: نصبوا له أي عادوه.

⁵ The form *Nuṣṣâb*, which occurs several times in Kashi, is not recorded in the dictionaries.

by Khawla al-Ḥanafiyya		by Fâtima	
<i>Muhammed</i> (II. 35 n. 3)	2. al-Ḥasan (d. 49)		3. al-Ḥusein (k. 61)
Abū Ḥâshim 'Abdallah (d. 79)	al-Ḥasan		4. Ali (Zein al-'Âbidîn, d. 94)
	'Abdallah		'Omar
<i>Muhammed</i> (k. 145)	Idris	5. <i>Muhammed</i> (al-Bâkir, d. 117)	<i>Zeid</i> (k. 122)
Yahya ²		6. <i>Ja'far</i> (aṣ-Ṣâdiq, d. 146)	Ali
Idris		7. <i>Mûsa</i> (al-Kâzim, k. 183)	'Isa al-Ḥusein
Almad	Muhammed (at-Tâmm)	8. <i>Ali</i> (ar-Riḍâ, d. ca. 203)	al-Kâsim
	Ja'far	9. <i>Muhammed</i> (at-Taḳî, k. (?) 220)	Yahya
	Muhammed (al-Ḥabîb)	10. <i>Ali</i> (an-Nakî, d. 254)	<i>Muhammed</i> (k. 219)
		11. al-Ḥasan (al-'Askarî, d. 260)	'Omar
	'Ubeidallah (Mahdi of Fatimides)	12. <i>Muhammed</i> (al-MAHDI)	Yahya (k. 250)
			Ali (al-Murtaḍâ, d. 436)

¹ This list is primarily based on *Gen. Leyd.* For the twelve Imams the data of IKot. 108 ff. and Diyârbekrî (cf. *Comm.* 78³⁶) have been utilized. The persons whose names appear in italics are mentioned in this treatise and are registered in the Index; the others are mere links in the genealogical chain. The dates of death differ considerably in the various sources. I have frequently followed IKot.—d.=died; k.=killed. According to the Imâniyya, *all* Imams, except the twelfth (the Mahdi), were killed (see *Comm.* 30¹⁵ ff. and the list quoted 78³⁶). I merely followed the historical data. The Imams of the Ithnâ'ashariyya and Sab'iyya have been marked by figures. The titles of the Imams are numerous. Only one has been given in each case. The children of a single man are arranged according to age, as they are given in *Gen. Leyd.* Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* (list Y and Z) frequently differs in this respect.

² *Gen. Leyd.* (cf. IKhald. I, 360) omits this name, but mentions Yahya as a *brother* of Idris and son of 'Abdallah. Hence perhaps the mistake of Ibn Ḥazm (I. 54 penult.). Cf. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* list Z, and the entirely different genealogy of al-Bekrî, *Comm.* 75¹⁷.

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 “ b. “ b. al-Ḥārith (II. 124²⁶), *see* ‘A. b. al-Ḥārith.
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¹ The authorities quoted *as such* throughout the treatise have been excluded from this index. On account of lack of space only the most important items have been specified. Unless otherwise stated, the names are those of *persons*. The words ending in *-iyya* designate *sects*. The latter appear under the heading of the person to which they belong, a cross-reference always indicating that person. The words printed in italics will be found as special items. The quotations refer to line and page. Where the line is left out, the whole page or most of it deals with that item. I. refers to the *first* part of this treatise (vol. xxviii. of this Journal); II. to the *second* (vol. xxix). In the alphabetical arrangement the article in its various forms and *b.* (=bnu) have not been counted. *s. v.* refers to the preceding *item* in italics; *ib.* to the preceding *figure*. *Fatḥa* is rendered by *a*, occasionally by *e*, *ḍamma* by *u* and *o*; the diphthong *fatḥa + yâ* by *ai* and *ei*. A list of Arabic words is appended to this index.

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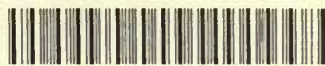
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